



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Monday
19 August 1991

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CONTENTS

19 August 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

General Secretary Outlines OAU Operations [Mbabane TV]	1
Rwandan Summit Reported To Start 17 Aug in Zaire [Kigali Radio]	4

CENTRAL AFRICA

Congo

'Former Members' of Government To Be Arrested [AFP]	5
Sassou-Nguesso Absent From National Day Parade [AFP]	5
'Rehabilitation' of Three Former Presidents Noted [Brazzaville Radio]	5
Presidency on Arrest of Sassou-Nguesso's Brother [AFP]	6

Zaire

Prime Minister on Conference Registration Issues [Kinshasa TV]	6
Opposition Agrees To Meet With President [PANA]	7
Mobutu Sends Emissaries to African States [Bukavu Radio]	7
Handover to Interim Office Not Effective [Lubumbashi Radio]	7

EAST AFRICA

Ethiopia

Meles Notes Efforts To Aid Soldiers' Families [Addis Ababa Radio]	8
EPLF Denies Battles With Opposition Forces [London AL-HAYAH 15 Aug]	8
* Muslim Leader Interviewed on New Regime [London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 6 Jul]	9

Tanzania

Premier in Talks With Zimbabwean Foreign Minister [Dar es Salaam Radio]	10
Joint Communique Issued [Dar es Salaam Radio]	10
Foreign Minister, Belgian Official Discuss Rwanda [Dar es Salaam International]	10
President Mwinyi Criticizes De Klerk Government [Dar es Salaam Radio]	11
Mwinyi Addresses Workers General Assembly [Dar es Salaam Radio]	11

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

ANC, IFP, Government Peace Accord Reported [SAPA]	12
Further on Peace Plan [SUNDAY TIMES 18 Aug]	12
Accord 'Stifles' Covert Action [SUNDAY TIMES 18 Aug]	14
Peace Plan To Promote 'Tolerance' [SUNDAY TIMES 18 Aug]	14
NPI Urges Media Responsibility [SAPA]	15
'Preliminary' Agreement Reached on Exiles' Return [Bern International]	16
Further on Amnesty Agreement [Umtata Radio]	16
Foreign Minister Details Agreement [SAPA]	16
UNHCR Official Interviewed [London International]	17
De Klerk Names Committee on Secret Funding [SAPA]	18
Plot To Kill ANC's Hani, Transkeian Leader [NEW NATION 16-22 Aug]	18
32 Former ANC Detainees Arrive at Jan Smuts [Johannesburg Radio]	19
ANC Says Suspected Agents, Infiltrators Released [SAPA]	19

16 Aug Press Review on Current Events, Issues [THE STAR, etc.]	19
17 Aug [SATURDAY STAR]	20
19 Aug [SUNDAY STAR, etc.]	20

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Dos Santos Reappoints Minister, Staff Chief [Maputo Radio]	22
UN Approves Peacekeeping, Elections Force Budget [Johannesburg Radio]	22
Control Groups Installed in Benguela Province [Luanda Radio]	22
UNITA Says Government Wants CCPM Postponement [Luanda Radio]	22
Troop Confinement in Cuando Cubango, Huambo, Bie [Luanda Radio]	22
FAPLA Soldiers Reportedly Kill Two Namibians [Voice of the Black Cockerel]	23
UNITA on Benguela Civilians Movement Stopped [Voice of the Black Cockerel]	23
Luena City FAPLA Forces Remain Armed [Voice of the Black Cockerel]	23
Prime Minister: Peace To Permit Economic Recovery [Luanda Radio]	23
Official Says 807 Mines Disarmed in Uige Province [Luanda Radio]	24
* Government Studies Current Economic Situation [Lisbon PUBLICO 24 Jul]	24
* South African, Portuguese Investment Efforts [Lisbon PUBLICO 24 Jul]	25
* Missionaries Report on Conditions in Benguela [Lisbon PUBLICO 24 Jul]	26
* Portuguese Minister Examines Investment Climate [Lisbon SEMANARIO 27 Jul]	27
* Businessmen Assess Country's Investment Climate [Lisbon SEMANARIO 27 Jul]	29

Mozambique

Frelimo Congress Proceedings Resume 14 Aug [Maputo Radio]	34
Constitutional Reforms Highlighted [Maputo Radio]	34
Report, Statutes Discussed [Maputo Radio]	34
Delegations Support Congress Goals [Maputo Radio]	34
Delegates Debate Draft Program [Maputo Radio]	34
Secret Ballot Elections Noted [Maputo Radio]	35
Guebuza Examines Rome Peace Talks 15 August [Maputo Radio]	35
Comments on Portuguese Lobby [Maputo Radio]	35
Minister Alleges RSA Still Helping Renamo [London International]	35
Foreign Minister on Gorbachev's 'Downfall' [Maputo Radio]	36
Military Leaders Not To Head Political Parties [Johannesburg Radio]	36
Chibuto District Under 'Strong' Renamo Influence [Maputo Radio]	36
* Red Cross Assists 300,000 People in Gaza [NOTICIAS 19 Jul]	36
* Inhambane Population Being Reintegrated [NOTICIAS 19 Jul]	37
* Food Situation Critical for 40,000 in Guro [NOTICIAS 24 Jul]	38
* New Party Holds Conference, Spells Plans [NOTICIAS 22 Jul]	38
* Zambezia: New Emergency Aid Plans Outlined [NOTICIAS 18 Jul]	39
* Refugees From Malawi Returning to Tete [NOTICIAS 18 Jul]	39

WEST AFRICA

Guinea-Bissau

Opposition Meeting Dispersed by Security Forces [AFP]	41
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Liberia

Sawyer Suspends Joint Security Commission [Monrovia Radio]	41
Replacing ECOMOG With UN Force Rejected [Monrovia Radio]	41
Italian Fishing Vessel Detained for Illegal Entry [Monrovia Radio]	42
Government Launches Popular Participation Policy [Monrovia Radio]	42
NPFL Abolishes Customs Duties at Entry Points [Gbarnga Radio]	43

Nigeria

Government Suspends Participation in ICO [AFP]	43
Vice President on Commitment to Civilian Rule [AFP]	43
BBC on Financial 'Swindle' Involving CBI [London International]	43
Chadian Envoy Visits, Delivers Deby Message [Lagos Radio]	44
Governorship, State Assembly Primaries Postponed [Lagos Radio]	44

General Secretary Outlines OAU Operations

MB1808133091 Mbabane Swazi Television in English
1700 GMT 17 Aug 91

[OAU Secretary General Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim addresses Swaziland Cabinet Ministers in Mbabane followed by questions from Swazi Prime Minister Obed Dlamini; date not given—recorded]

[Text] The secretary general of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, has emphasized the need for politicians to be aware of the operations of the OAU. In wide ranging talks with the Cabinet, Dr. Salim told government ministers in Mbabane that some decisions and goals of the OAU were not fully implemented, with the result that the organization had difficulty in achieving its goals.

[Salim] I've been wanting to come to Swaziland for some time. Actually I feel ashamed that all this time I have not had the opportunity to do so, but I'm happy now that I have been able to come. And even though it has been a weekend but it has been a very fruitful visit. I have seen something of the country. This is a very beautiful country. I have heard of its beauty and of the hospitality of its people from many people who have come to Swaziland, and I am in a position to testify myself by virtue of my association in this short visit.

I'm glad, Mr. Prime Minister, that you have given me this opportunity to meet with your colleagues because this is a cabinet government and it's always more reassuring when the ministers of the government are aware of what we are trying to do as a continental organization. I have found out that one of the problems we have in the continent, in so far as the implementation of decisions of the organization, is that more often than not our leaders meet, they take decisions, they adopt declarations, they adopt resolutions or they sign treaties but the implementation process takes a long time partly because some other members who are involved in decisionmaking and also those who are actually the actors, who are important in the process of implementation of decisions, sometimes are not as informed as they should be.

The African economic and social situation is in a very, very terrible shape; both in the social areas where we had made some advances in the past, the early days of independence, the achievements in education, the achievements in health have been regularly eroded because of this very, very stringent economic situation. And in some cases the state of our economy now is worse off than it was at the time of independence.

It's inconceivable we can talk of meaningful economic and structural development without creating conditions which are prerequisite for that process—conditions of stability, conditions of peace, peace within our nations and peace among our nations, and so the question of conflict resolution, conflict management is a priority issue for the OAU. We have to see how we can bring to an end the perennial conflicts which have afflicted our

continent: the interstate conflicts, the conflicts in the states—you know what these conflicts mean because you have been a recipient of the consequences of these conflicts; whether it is the situation of Mozambique, where the Government of Mozambique is making very strenuous efforts in reaching a negotiated resolution; whether it is the situation in South Africa where we are all... [changes thought] The international community is trying to do its best to promote the process of change.

All the situations in Swaziland have been affected one way or the other. [sentence as heard] This is true of all the other African countries. If there is a conflict in Ethiopia the people of the Horn are affected. If there is a conflict in Sudan, others are affected and so we hope to focus on the question of conflict resolution, but to do so we need the goodwill and the support of African governments and the understanding of African governments and the necessary resources of the African governments.

I was saying to some of our leaders that we cannot allow ourselves in a situation where the OAU and Africa are the last people to show concern on problems happening in Africa. If there is to be famine, if there is drought, if there is war the people who should make this maximum [word indistinct] fast should be Africa themselves. If there are violations of human rights it should be Africa who should talk about these violations. If it is a question of democratization it should be Africa who should talk about democratization, who should not wait to be told what should be done. And I think if we do so I am convinced that then we can put our continent to resume its rightful place, particularly now, Mr. Prime Minister. You are more conversant in this field. You and your colleagues know the real world. I said the other day and I want to say it again: The days of the good Samaritan is no longer there as far as Africa is concerned.

You take statistics. Statistics are very glaring. When it comes to the question of refugees, we have in our continent six million refugees. We have 12 million displaced persons and the resources to cope with these refugees are ever diminishing. In fact we have more refugees now and less money to cope with those refugees, but the answer is not simply to ask for more money. We can ask for more money; it is not forthcoming. But more important is what to do to address ourselves to those causes of these refugees.

In the economic situation we want to, of course, to talk about investment. We have been mobilizing for investment but the truth is there is less investment in Africa whether it is in the public sector or in the private sector, and for us to get more investment, for us to be in the real world we have to be competitive. And the question of being competitive, it means really we must make use of the advantages that we have in fast promoting cooperation among ourselves, cooperation among our countries. Take the questions of economic cooperation seriously.

[Dlamini] In previous meetings with you, Your Excellency, you have said the time has come for Africa to look

into its economics properly instead of wasting time. This brings us to a point which is on the agenda and that is the creation of our community.

I am sure this Cabinet, although you have said a lot about the community, would like to know more seeing that Swaziland was one of those two countries which failed to sign the relevant document in Abuja. I want to invite you to say something for their enlightenment. You have said something to me and I was very happy that you said it the way you did.

The second point which I would like you to comment on, Your Excellency, is regarding the financial status of the OAU in respect to the various members, including Swaziland itself. There is something positive you mentioned in that aspect when we were meeting together and I would like my colleagues to get it from the horse's mouth.

[Salim] I know some of the concerns of Swaziland with respect to... [changes thought] which meant you hesitated from signing the (?communique); the relationship as far as the customs union is concerned. But I believe that these concerns will be addressed very soon to the satisfaction of all the members because as you know, Mr. Prime Minister, not only Swaziland has these concerns, but other members in your region also who are members of the OAU have some concerns and have signed the (?communique). So my plea to you is that the Government of Swaziland should proceed and sign the (?communique) and also take part as you have done in the past in the processes and elaboration of the protocol.

Now, it was Swaziland and Benin. I have talked with President Soglo when I was in Benin and I am convinced also that Benin will shortly be signing the treaty. But even then, after we sign the treaty it will not be the end of the story. After the signing of the treaty and the ratification process then the real work will begin. The real work of beginning the serious process of economic integration in our continent and Swaziland can and should make an important contribution in this field.

With respect to the second point, the financial contribution, let me happily say that Swaziland is one of those countries, members of the organization, which have lived up to the expectations of our organization. You have observed the rules of the game and I'm happy the minister of finance is here. He will be happy. I'm sure he knows that Swaziland has paid all its arrears. You do not have any arrears. I expect to receive a check from the minister of finance soon for the financial year 1991-1992. [applause] I wish, really, I wish that more countries in our continent will emulate this example because the fact remains we still have a very serious problem when it comes to member states making their contributions to the organization. Many member states, like Swaziland and others, some even those who have tremendous economic difficulties. Some even in situations of conflict have been paying their contributions. Yet others, for one reason or another have not paid their contributions.

[Dlamini] Could I question another very important question, and that is our obligation towards the liberation movement. I know this process has been going on for some time but it would appear the function of the organization, or sub-organization, is diminishing with the events in southern Africa and the rest of Africa cooling down. What would be the current position regarding your organization; that is, our organization, the OAU, towards that?

[Salim] Well of course I don't have the statistics with me concerning the obligations of member states, vis-a-vis their contributions to the Liberation Committee, but I know also there are a lot of member states which have not paid to their special funds. But I think the point you are making is a valid point in the following terms: When the Liberation Committee was created, way back in '62, at that time the OAU member-states were 32. We are now 51. Many of these 51 also have become independent as a result, not only of the efforts of their own people but also the result of the combined efforts of the OAU through, partly also, the Liberation Committee.

Now the agenda of the OAU Liberation Committee has been reduced to one. It had to deal with the Portuguese colonies. It used to deal with the events around Rhodesia. It used to deal with Namibia. Now we are only left with South Africa. So clearly the forecast over sanctions as far as the liberation struggle is concerned has now been more circumscribed, more limited to one particular issue and you need to reassess the role of the liberation committee in the light of these events and this reassessment was done.

The last session of the Lib ... [changes thought] The last session of the council [pauses] The last two previous sessions of the Council of Ministers, some recommendations were adopted and so the Liberation Committee itself has been trimmed down, but on the other hand is that the remaining agenda is a very important agenda.

The agenda of the elimination of the apartheid system and so the Liberation Committee and the Council of Ministers and the assembly of heads of state and government have an important role to continue to support the efforts of our brothers and sisters in South Africa towards the final triumph against the apartheid system. So while the priorities will have to shift, while even the structure has been also reorganized, we have not yet finished the business of liberation. So there is a role for the Liberation Committee.

We are trying to live up to the new challenges, but I think it is very important for Africa not to relax its vigil, just at a time when we are about to score the final victory, because—I want to tell you Mr. Prime Minister—there is always a danger of believing that the struggle for freedom is over in our continent. It is not over. We have gone very far. We have reached very far but we have to (?finish) the question of the indignity which the people of South Africa are subjected to.

We have to support; we have to (?go) together with the international community so as to ensure a smooth and peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial South Africa. If that were to happen of course it will change the situation. It will change the situation in southern Africa; it will change the situation in Africa. I have always said it will be, for me personally, it will be perhaps one of the happiest days of my life if I were around to welcome the Republic of South Africa as a member, full member of the OAU. Unfortunately, that day hasn't come yet but we have all to work towards the realization of that day.

[Dlamini] Well, before I (?speak) to members of the press could I worry you with one last question? In respect to Southern Africa, including South Africa itself, we appreciate the move which has been taken by various organizations including countries and the OAU in particular, in solving the Angolan situation. Now, we are yet left with two more which are critical as far as we are concerned. You have in fact indicated, Your Excellency, and that is the issue of Mozambique. We are not discussing the internal affairs per se, but a matter of interest was to know what the situation is likely to be. We would like to get your own perceptions as an organization for our continent on the Mozambican situation and of course what we have in South Africa.

The latest events for instance in South Africa which took place even on your way to this country make us shudder to think that what developed three months back may take a different shape altogether if the situation is not under control. What are your comments on that one, Your Excellency?

[Salim] I am very impressed by the genuine determination of the Government of Mozambique to promote a resolution, a peaceful resolution, to the war. I think there is no questioning the determination of the Government of Mozambique and especially of President Chissano. I think when you go through the history of the this conflict in Mozambique, when you go through the position of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], its activities in the country, there is to me and from the point of the OAU, I think the president of Mozambique needs to be complemented for the vision he has shown, for the concessions he has been making, and sometimes really I would say frankly, incredible concessions.

Now the onus is on Renamo and I think the onus is on Renamo but also the onus is on those governments or those institutions which have some influence on Renamo so as to ensure that they take the process of negotiations seriously. From the point of view of the OAU we are interested in getting the end of this conflict because we believe that for every day that passes and the killings that are going on there, it is the Mozambicans who suffer and whether these Mozambicans are Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] or they are ordinary citizens who do not belong to any party, or for that matter even if they are Renamo the fact remains that the total loss is to Mozambicans.

And so we need to see an end to the conflict and I think we must support the efforts of the president of Mozambique towards that objective and supporting the efforts means really, all of us striving in whatever way we can to see to it that the process of negotiations is taken seriously, secondly, the little obstacles and the little problems here and there are overcome and all the countries of the world which have involved themselves into the situation should support genuinely the peace process.

Now Swaziland and Prime Minister, you are a neighbor of Mozambique and whatever you can do to promote also the negotiated resolution to that conflict is welcomed. [sentence as heard] It is also in Swaziland's interest to ensure that peace and security in Mozambique is restored, but I really think that right now it would be unfair to expect the Government of Mozambique, or to put the blame on the Government of Mozambique, for the failure thus far in the negotiating process because they have made the concessions. In fact, even the latest talks in Rome, the Government of Mozambique was prepared to start negotiations. The mediators came with some proposals but Renamo came with its own proposals saying they want the deferment of proposals. I don't want to go into the details and the mechanics of negotiations, but what I want to say is that it is time that the people of Mozambique assumed their responsibility for peace. And I know from talking with President Chissano that he, for one, is definitely committed to the process of peace and he needs all the support that he can get from Africa and the world community.

With respect to South Africa, I share your concern. We are following the situation in South Africa very closely. We had a meeting in Abuja of heads of states—members of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa. We reviewed the situation in South Africa. What we want to see happen in South Africa is that the process of change leading to a creation of a democratic nonracial South Africa is not aborted, or undermined. What do we want to see in South Africa? We want to see the (?enlarging) unity of the oppressed people of South Africa; the unity of the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa; the unity of the black people in South Africa, which is very crucial, not only in the struggle against apartheid, but in the measures and the events that are to follow a post apartheid South Africa. What we want to see also is the larger unity of all the democratic forces in South Africa, black and white. What we want to see, Mr. Prime Minister, is an [word indistinct] of these forces. And so that's why we are saying to the world [words indistinct] the present situation, we feel that there is a need to continue to maintain the pressure on the South African Government, so that the process of change is not undermined or aborted. And that is why the OAU in Abuja did two things: First it insisted that the issue now to be discussed is the question of the transfer of power to an elected government through a democratic constitution. Secondly, we have to see and recognize that it was because of the combination of pressures, both internal and international, which brought us to the stage we are in now. And these pressures need to be continued. On the part of those countries, for example, who have decided to lift sanctions in the believe that by lifting

sanctions that they are encouraging the process of change. The OAU has a different viewpoint, we are saying the lifting of sanctions does not help, but in any case since we do not question the integrity of most of these countries, we know that on the question of apartheid we have a common objective. We expect these countries to continue, first to retain the remaining sanctions, but also to continue to put pressure to bear on the South African Government.

Rwandan Summit Reported To Start 17 Aug in Zaire

*EA0908145091 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT
8 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] The regional summit on the Rwandan conflict scheduled by the last OAU summit will take place on 17 August in Gbadolite, Zaire. The announcement of the new summit meeting was made this afternoon in Kigali by the Nigerian minister of foreign affairs, Major General Ike

Nwachukwu, at the end of talks he held with Gen. Juvenal Habyarimana, president of the Republic of Rwanda.

President Ibrahim Babangida's emissary arrived in Kigali this afternoon from Kinshasa for a visit of a few hours carrying a personal message from the Nigerian head of state to his Rwandan counterpart and brother. Gen. Nwachukwu indicated that the message concerned preparations for the regional summit on the Rwandan conflict. The summit which will take place next week in Gbadolite, Zaire, and will include President Mobutu Sese Seko, mediator in the conflict, Ibrahim Babangida, current OAU chairman, and their Rwandan, Burundian, Ugandan, and Tanzanian counterparts.

Answering a question on whether the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] would be represented at the summit, the head of Nigerian diplomacy indicated that the issue of RPF representation will be settled by the Zairian mediator. [passage omitted]

Congo

'Former Members' of Government To Be Arrested

AB1808170491 Paris AFP in English 1652 GMT
18 Aug 91

[Text] Brazzaville, Aug 18 (AFP) - Congo's Government announced that more former members of the ruling regime will be arrested for financial improprieties following the recent arrest of the brother of President Denis-Sassou Nguesso.

In a statement late Saturday [17 August], spokesman Guy Menga said that Maurice Nguesso's arrest and that of the former number two in the Congolese Workers Party, Lekoundzou Itihi-Ossetoumba, was the start of a long process. "Others are yet to be arrested," he said.

A well-informed source said that 43 parties and associations close to the new interim government had submitted the names of about 100 people who they said should be arrested.

The Workers Party, formerly Congo's only legal political party, described the arrests as arbitrary and an attempt to interfere with the election prospects of the party's candidates.

Nguesso is accused of fraudulently spending nine million CFA francs (about 2,900 dollars) in insurance premiums while Lekoundzou is held on charges of diverting state funds.

Sassou-Nguesso Absent From National Day Parade

AB1508162891 Paris AFP in French 1212 GMT
15 Aug 91

[Text] Brazzaville, 15 Aug (AFP)—General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the Congolese head of state, did not attend the military parade to mark the 31st anniversary of his country's independence, observers noted in Brazzaville today. This absence could be related to the arrest of the president's brother, Maurice Nguesso, and of the former second most important official of the former single ruling Congolese Labor Party [PCT], Mr. Lekoundzou, observers said in the Congolese capital.

Moreover, no exceptional measures were reportedly taken to ensure the security of the head of state, it was said in Brazzaville. The Congolese Government hurriedly dissolved the autonomous battalion of the presidential security guards. This dissolution was recommended by the National Conference that was held from 25 February to 10 June, but should have taken effect only after the establishment of a Republican Guard which has still not been created.

A member of the PCT Political Bureau, and second vice chairman of the High Council of the Republic, the legislative body during the transition period, Mr. Fulgence Milandou, was also absent from the parade.

The military parade which began in midmorning lasted about an hour, in the presence of Monsignor Ernest

Kombo, chairman of the High Council of the Republic, and Andre Milongo, prime minister of the transition government. All Armed Force units took part in the parade, but according to observers in the Congolese capital, the parade was not as popular as previous celebrations throughout the years.

'Rehabilitation' of Three Former Presidents Noted

AB1608125091 Brazzaville Voix de la Revolution
Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The commemorative activities marking the 31st independence anniversary began in Brazzaville this morning with an unusual ceremony. This concerned the rehabilitation of former heads of state of our country, notably, Fulbert Youlou, Alphonse Massemba-Debat, and Jacques Joachim Yhombi-Opango. The ceremony took place at National Concord Square. Justin Simplicie Ngamou has the report:

[Ngamou] It was an unusual ceremony that was included in the program of festivities commemorating 31 years of our country's independence. It was a rehabilitation ceremony for former heads of state, Father Fulbert Youlou, Alphonse Massemba-Debat, and Jacques Joachim Yhombi-Opango, who were, invariably, victims of intolerance. [passage omitted]

The ceremony which had national overtones brought together the entire political class of the capital, namely the cabinet led by Prime Minister Andre Milongo; the bureau of the High Council of the Republic led by Monsignor Ernest Kombo; leaders of political parties and associations; ambassadors; and heads of diplomatic missions.

Once all these officials were seated, the major part of the ceremony took place. It was marked by a speech by Culture and Arts Minister Letembet Ambily on the life and works of Presidents Youlou, Massemba-Debat, Ngouabi, and Yhombi-Opango. Afterwards, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Republic, unveiled the portraits of three former heads of state: Father Fulbert Youlou, Alphonse Massemba-Debat, and Marien Ngouabi. This symbolic and highly memorable gesture was hailed by a wave of applause. It must be noted that General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, who did not make any statement, reviewed all official bodies invited to the event. [passage omitted]

There was more fright than harm caused during this ceremony at which only one speech was made by Antoine Letembet Ambily, minister of culture and arts. In any case, Antoine Letembet Ambily's speech was directed at the head of state since it contained several attacks against President Denis Sassou-Nguesso. Toualy Kissa Massango comments:

[Massango] I must say that the speech made the head of state visibly uneasy. The president of the Republic (?showed dismay) several times, often turning to the prime minister to show his indignation. Letembet Ambily's first blow was to deny the president of the Republic and chairman of the High Council of the Republic the chairmanship of the

ceremony. He stated loudly and clearly that the ceremony would be chaired by the prime minister. It should be recalled that a few minutes before the ceremony Letembet Ambily reprimanded his chief of protocol for inviting the president of the Republic to the ceremony.

Going to the heart of the matter, the minister of culture stressed that Presidents Fulbert Youlou, Alphonse Massamba-Debat, and Joachim Yhombi Opango must now enjoy the respectability and honorability due to the office they held in this country. When he described them as renowned former presidents, I saw the president of the Republic, whose nerves were on edge, turn to the prime minister in slight disappointment. Continuing his charges, the minister of culture and arts said that the disappearance of the three heads of state harmed the nation adding that it was, therefore, necessary to correct what he called a patricide or at least this dangerous anathema. [passage omitted]

The third act which embarrassed, if not frustrated, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, was when the speaker skipped the period of his rule. Yes indeed, the speaker did not say anything about President Sassou-Nguesso. He briefly mentioned a hand washing ceremony attended by Yhombi-Opango and Sassou-Nguesso which he said was in line with the national reconciliation process. [passage omitted]

Presidency on Arrest of Sassou-Nguesso's Brother

AB1708211791 Paris AFP in French 1011 GMT
17 Aug 91

[Text] Brazzaville, 17 Aug (AFP)—The presidency of the Republic of Congo today deplored the arrest on 14 August of Mr. Maurice Nguesso, the head of state's brother, and the number two man in the Congolese Workers Party (PCT, former sole party), Mr. Lekoundzou Itihi-Ossetoumba.

In a communique published today in Brazzaville by its spokesman, Mr. Oscar Samba, the presidency of the Republic believes these arrests—made on the eve of the 31st independence anniversary—"have created a situation of insecurity and psychological uneasiness seen by all."

According to the communique, this situation was not done "to facilitate President Denis Sassou-Nguesso's presence at the military parade organized on the occasion." The military parade was attended by the chairman of the Higher Council of the Republic, Monsignor Ernest Kombo, and the prime minister of the transitional government, Andre Milongo.

Messrs. Nguesso and Lekoundzou were imprisoned on 14 August for their involvement in some economic and financial scandals, it was stated yesterday on official television by the chief justice at the Brazzaville high court, Mr. Mabounda Mangandza.

According to Mr. Mangandza, Maurice Nguesso is said to have fraudulently diverted some insurance premiums. The

justice did not, however, give any details on the scandal in which Mr. Lekoundzou is reportedly implicated.

The PCT secretary general, Mr. Ambroise Noumazalay, had, for his part, told AFP on 15 August that these arrests were the consequence of "political maneuvers by the transitional government aimed at destabilizing the PCT."

Zaire

Prime Minister on Conference Registration Issues

LD1608164391 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television
Network in French 1230 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Mulumba Lukoji by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] A big question remains about the national conference. When will it open? Why are things still dragging? The dealings taking place outside the conference hall between the government, the Sacred Union and Civil Society do not make any forecast possible. During a news conference just completed at the conference hall, Kalonji Mutambay, president of the national conference provisional bureau, gave his opinion on several points. I will present this interview to you as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, I propose that we follow the explanations given by the prime minister on the organization of the sovereign national conference, particularly on the points connected with the excess number of delegates and registration, which is still going on.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, resumption of work at the national conference did not happen this afternoon because the Provisional Bureau noted an excess number of delegates. The lists, in fact, show 3,458 names instead of 2,850, as decided by the preparatory commission. Were you aware of this situation?

[Lukoji] I believe, first of all, that delegates genuinely wish to be able to continue the work of the national conference and to be able to take part in it actively. I believe that all the delegates have taken note of, and supported, the position which the government had adopted; that is that the conference must be a national forum for national reconciliation. In this capacity, all the sons and daughters of this country must take part in it if they really want to contribute in a positive way to the resolution of the political and economic situation which the country now faces.

So, personally I greatly appreciate the determination of most of the delegates who spoke this afternoon. On the government side, there is a real willingness to do everything possible to ensure that this dialogue can really be constructive and positive and promote national reconciliation.

Concerning the number of delegates, I believe that on several occasions we on the government side have seen that as long as there was a complete lack of discipline on the part of Civil Society, and above all in Kinshasa, there was a risk of having a greater number of Civil Society delegates. In

fact, as the secretary of state for defense will be able to confirm to you shortly—he organized a count of the different delegates—you will see that where the political parties are concerned the lists are correct, where the public associations are concerned the lists are correct, and where the delegates of the regions are concerned each region sent its 77 delegates. It is where Kinshasa is concerned that instead of 330 Dr. (Onumbi), who chaired the Civil Society coordinating committee—which is a completely illegal institution, not recognized by the law—preferred to draw up a list which was not based on the lists of delegates proposed by the associations but one which he reorganized with his group. This list had more than 1,700 delegates, part of them registered, and this is what leads us to this excess number which we see in terms of the overall figure of delegates.

I believe the only way to correct this situation is to take the [words indistinct] and for the commission for the verification and validation of the mandated authority of the delegates to review matters, organization by organization, political party by political party, and then by the institutions, to see if each one has supplied its quota and that this quota has been respected. We could audit the list and return to the precise number which was agreed to of 2,850. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What is going to happen now? People are wondering: are we going to wait, are we going to review all those lists outside the conference hall or are we going to wait for the stage of verification and validation of authority?

[Lukoji] The government's position, which I stated when I received the delegation sent by the parties and associations which form part of the Sacred Union—last Sunday, after the meeting we had with them, and then on Monday when I received a delegation of 15 members of this group—I said that in the government's view that all these problems must be settled within the national conference. In other words, under normal circumstances we should resume work and organize the different commissions, including the commission for the verification and validation of authority. Within this commission that we should clean up the different lists which have been prepared. This is how it should be done. I do not believe that we in the government need to change our position.

Opposition Agrees To Meet With President

AB1608210591 Dakar PANA in English 1723 GMT
16 Aug 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 16 Aug (AZAP/PANA)—Zairian opposition parties and civil associations which are signatories to the Sacred Union pact, have agreed to send a high-powered delegation to meet with President Mobutu Sese Seko in order to resolve the problems hampering the national conference in the country.

Jean Nguza Karl-I-Bond, spokesman of the Union, said at the end of their three-hour meeting that the decision to

send a 10-man delegation to meet the Zairian leader was aimed at safeguarding national interest.

He said the group had set conditions for meeting the president such as that the meeting take place either at the Palace of the People or the Palace of the Nation as well as the possibility of making the official media inform public opinion of the exact intention of the meeting.

The Union is also asking for the suspension of the sitting of the national conference until the end of the talks and the lifting of the subtle embargo imposed on the activities of the Union by the official media.

Nguza said the refusal by the members of the Union to take their place at the conference was informed [as received] by the misgivings of the different groups on the overrepresentation of public institutions and the state of military occupation prevailing at the Palace of the People.

He further said the list of participants presented by the government contains 4,288 registered people instead of 2,850 provided for by the preparatory commission.

Mobutu Sends Emissaries to African States

EA1708221791 Bukavu Voix du Zaire in French
1630 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] The president of the Republic, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, has just sent two emissaries (?bearing) [word indistinct] message to his Nigerian, Ugandan, Rwandan, Burundian, and Tanzanian counterparts. The minister of foreign affairs, [words indistinct] left for Lagos while [words indistinct] just left for the two Economic Community of the Countries of the Great Lakes, Burundi and Rwanda, neighboring countries of Uganda and Tanzania in East Africa. It is believed that the meeting of heads of state of these countries on the situation in Rwanda could be the focus of the Zairian head of state's message to his counterparts.

Handover to Interim Office Not Effective

EA1808092091 Lubumbashi Voix du Zaire in French
1630 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] [Words indistinct] the preparatory commission, according to the interim office of the national conference, there is total confusion. Kalonji Mutambayi [words indistinct] despite assurances from the prime minister over the handover from the preparatory commission, which he [the prime minister] is heading, by the interim office of the national conference headed by Pastor Isaac Kalonji Mutambayi. According to the latter, the handover has not yet taken place. Pastor Kalonji Mutambayi said this at a press conference in Kinshasa yesterday.

Answering questions by journalists, the president of the interim office of the national conference once again denounced the anarchy which was and is still prevailing in the registration of delegates [words indistinct].

Ethiopia**Meles Notes Efforts To Aid Soldiers' Families**

EA1608195091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] President Meles Zenawi stated today that efforts were being made to give aid to the families of former [Dergue] soldiers. The president of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, in a statement to journalists today, also stated that the issue of former government officials who are detained will be resolved. The press conference was attended by Negash Muhammad:

[Negash] As we have seen, family members of the former army are saying that they are hungry. The demand of the soldiers' families is: bread before democracy. What is the government's response to this? This is also our first question.

In President Meles' view, a hungry person can demand food not only before democracy, he can demand it before anything else. We cannot question why a person has said he is hungry. However, the law allowing demonstrations in Addis Ababa has not yet been adopted, although it has already been drafted, but taking into consideration respect for the law, and as stated by the president, the transitional government did not stop the hungry demonstrators. According to President Meles, the transitional government is making the necessary efforts to help the hungry families of the oppressed armed forces and it is hoped that the problems will be resolved soon.

[Begin Meles recording] Efforts are continuing to help the families of the soldiers, but we cannot say that this has been completed. We cannot also say that all the problems will be resolved within a short period of time, but efforts are being made and they will continue in order to solve the problems of the oppressed soldiers. [end recording]

[Negash] As the president of the transitional government stated, there could be forces wanting to use the oppressed soldiers' protesting families as political instruments. The officials who used the oppressed soldiers as cannon fodder at the time of the Dergue are still feared to be trying to use the destitute families of the oppressed soldiers for their own aims. The cases of soldiers, Workers Party of Ethiopia members, and state security members who are detained will soon be clarified. A commission of inquiry, free from the influence of any political organization, will be set up to investigate their cases. They will then appear in a free court, where the criminals will receive their sentences and the innocent will be set free.

Regarding the Ethiopians reported to have been chased from Eritrea, the president said that from the policy perspective, former government soldiers, security personnel, and the kidnap squad known as the [word indistinct] have been chased out. Some workers who could not get jobs were also sent away. There may have

been some operational mistakes in doing this, but the situation is not as serious as has been exaggerated here in Addis Ababa and other areas.

The full contents of Mr. Meles Zenawi's press conference will be broadcast tomorrow.

EPLF Denies Battles With Opposition Forces

PM1608103691 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 15 Aug 91 p 4

[Yusuf Khazim report: "Battles Reported in Eritrea"]

[Excerpts] London—The airport of the Eritrean capital, Asmara, will be opened today to international aviation under Eritrean management for the first time in 30 years. The special Eritrean-Ethiopian committees are continuing their work to coordinate relations between the two countries.

Ahmad al-Haj, spokesman for the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] in London, told AL-HAYAH yesterday that the first Ethiopian plane will land at Asmara airport today with Eritrean permission and that flights from Addis Ababa will continue at the rate of three a week.

The EPLF seized the whole of Eritrea on 24 May after parts of it had been under Ethiopian control since 1961. The Front, in alliance with the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front, managed to topple the Ethiopian regime 28 May. After assuming power the "Revolutionary Front" recognized the Eritreans' right to self-determination.

Ahmad al-Haj said that since Asmara's liberation Ethiopian-Eritrean committees have been formed to coordinate between the two sides in all fields, most recently on the agreement to introduce flights between Addis Ababa and Asmara. One of these committees reached an agreement last month on the use of the strategic Red Sea port of Aseb. The agreement emphasized Eritrean sovereignty over the port, with the Ethiopians' right to use it without paying any fees. Other committees are continuing their work in several fields, such as organizing people's movements between the two countries, border duties, currency, and so on.

The Ethiopian reconciliation conference in Addis Ababa last month decided to grant the Eritrean people the right to self-determination and to conduct a referendum in this regard within two years.

Muhammad Awhaj, member of the general staff of the Eritrean Liberation Army-Unified Organization, told AL-HAYAH in Khartoum that for the past two weeks violent battles have been raging between the EPLF and opposition forces in several parts of Eritrea.

The EPLF denied the occurrence of any battles in any [sentence as published].

In London Ahmad al-Haj told AL-HAYAH yesterday: There are no military organizations in Eritrea. [passage omitted]

Awhaj added that the "battles will not stop unless the EPLF backtracks on its positions and works to include the other fronts in determining the country's destiny." He said that large numbers of the old fighters took part in the military operations against the EPLF.

Ahmad al-Haj denied the reports of battles. [passage omitted]

* Muslim Leader Interviewed on New Regime

91AA0542A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
6 Jul 91 p 5

[Interview with Shaykh Omar Husayn Abdelwahid with Sayyid Ahmad Khalifah in Djibouti; date not given]

[Text] The plenary political conference that the ruling Democratic Front held in Ethiopia has apparently assigned a prominent role to the Ethiopian religious parties, both Islamic and Christian. The Islamic delegation to the conference was represented by a large religious delegation headed by Shaykh Omar Husayn Abdelwahid, chairman of the Higher Council for Islamic Affairs in Ethiopia. AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT had the following telephone interview with him following the first session of the conference.

[Khalifah] Does your representation at the conference suggest that Muslims in Ethiopia will play a bigger role in the country's politics after they were ignored in the past?

[Abdelwahid] Muslim and Christian representation at this conference, which will establish the regime in Ethiopia, will make us, as Muslims, partners in charting the future of this country that has suffered from wars for many years. I believe that what you have described as the negligible quantity—which is a true description of the situation of Muslims in Ethiopia—will be treated fairly under the new democratic political regime.

[Khalifah] At the beginning of his regime, Mengistu seemed keen on treating the Muslims fairly. Are you not afraid that there will be a recurrence of past events, given that Mengistu later turned against everybody?

[Abdelwahid] In fact, Mengistu did give the Muslims some rights. He was definitely better than Haile Selassie in this regard. His motive was psychological, for although he is a Christian he was raised in a Muslim environment. Also, he wanted to win the Muslims to his side after the Amharic Christian groups stood against him. Later, Mengistu took back from everybody what he gave them because of the policy of oppression which later was adopted as a program of his regime.

[Khalifah] What percentage of the Ethiopian population is Muslim?

[Abdelwahid] According to their statistics, they say that we number 50 percent. In our view, we are 60 percent of the population in all Ethiopia.

[Khalifah] Does this percentage include Eritrea as well?

[Abdelwahid] Yes.

[Khalifah] As a Muslim leadership, you also look after the affairs of Muslims in Eritrea as well. How do you view the situation in Eritrea under the new Ethiopian regime?

[Abdelwahid] The Higher Islamic Council represents all [Muslims in] Ethiopia. Legally, Eritrea is part of Ethiopia. With regard to Eritrea's future, there is a referendum on self-determination. As Muslims we prefer the "secession" of Eritrea. We believe that a federal or confederal system is the most suitable because secession will create problems, particularly because the Eritreans are now suffering from internal problems, since the Muslims in the low lands and on the Sudanese borders are complaining from the policies of Isaias Afewerke.

[Khalifah] Meles Zenawi, the present Ethiopian president, is of Tigrean origin. This represents transfer of power from the Amharis to the Tigreans. Do you expect problems between these two nationalities, given the ongoing historical struggle between them?

[Abdelwahid] Before the rule of the Amharis, which began in the era of King Menlik in the past century, power in Ethiopia was in the hands of the Tigreans and their King Yohannes. I believe that among the tasks of the current conference is to change this tribal system and to choose the leadership according to the multi-party system.

[Khalifah] Certain quarters have described the present Democratic Front leadership as communists. How do you view the situation?

[Abdelwahid] The Americans say that this leadership was communist but has abandoned communism and adopted a democratic system. We believe that this is true. Their actions now demonstrate that this is correct.

[Khalifah] It has been said that there are opposition groups some of which are armed and others are preparing to arm in order to fight the new government. How do you view the future of these movements and what are, in your opinion, their motives?

[Abdelwahid] We see no reason for continuing the war because the Ethiopian people are tired of these wars that have been going on for generations and have hindered the country's progress, despite the existing potential for development and civilization. We believe that these groups should get together and work under a democratic regime. If they still face oppression and persecution, then they can do what they want. But I see no justification for what they are doing at present. As for the motives, I see no reason other than the quest for power. As long as the road to power is open through free elections and under international supervision, then there should be no fear of wars.

[Khalifah] After one month since the change in Ethiopia, what are the differences between Mengistu and Zenawi and between the social and economic life under either?

[Abdelwahid] The difference is great. We now feel free. Would I have been able, under the Mengistu regime, to speak to the Arab press so freely? The living conditions are better because the borders between Ethiopia's provinces have been opened, whereas previously, the war prevented contact. Some of the provinces are rich while others are poor. Opening the borders has established a kind of contact between Ethiopia's provinces. Also, the road to the port of Aseb is now completely open. Also, some of the commodity prices have dropped because of the availability of goods. There is the problem of scarcity of fuels—gasoline, has been said that this will be solved in the coming few days. However, this is not affecting daily life.

[Khalifah] What do you expect from the conference? Did you notice from the beginning of its debates that it is facing complex problems that are difficult to resolve?

[Abdelwahid] If things tend toward creating pluralism and democracy as a substitute [for the previous regime] in all of Ethiopia, and the era of oppression ends, the conference will achieve a theoretical success, after which the question of application remains. I believe this will succeed if everybody insists on adhering to the resolutions and programs of this historical conference. I consider the conference to be the last chance for all the peoples of Ethiopia to stand on the threshold of an era of stability, peace, and fraternity.

[Khalifah] Will you call on the Muslims of Ethiopia to support Meles Zenawi if he stands candidate for the head of state or will you nominate a Muslim?

[Abdelwahid] We do not support an individual, but rather a program. We will be waiting for such programs and we will support them and call on the public to support them as long as they achieve the principle of consultation, peace, justice, and equality.

Tanzania

Premier in Talks With Zimbabwean Foreign Minister

EA1608164091 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1300 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Dar es Salaam—Comrade John Malecela, prime minister and first vice president, today held talks with Zimbabwe's foreign minister, Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira, on bilateral cooperation. During the talks, Comrade Malecela informed Mr. Shamuyarira that Tanzania's economy was improving and that inflation had dropped from 30 to 16 percent this year. He told him that the situation would have been much better were it not for the Gulf War which aggravated the country's economy.

The two sides also discussed the need for the two countries to promote bilateral trade.

On South Africa, they said that sanctions against the Boers must be sustained until such time as it is ascertained that the Boers are resolute on effecting reforms beneficial to the majority of the people. They said the recent scandal (?involving the Inkatha movement) proved beyond doubt that South Africa had not resolved to embrace majority rule.

The talks were also attended by Mr. Ahmed Hassan Diria, minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation.

Joint Communique Issued

EA1708213791 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 0330 GMT 17 Aug 91

[From the press review]

[Text] Tanzania and Zimbabwe have emphasized the need to continue economic sanctions against South Africa to render successful the struggle to eliminate apartheid in the country. UHURU, on page three, considers these reports today.

A joint communique issued yesterday in Dar es Salaam following a four-day visit by the Zimbabwe's foreign minister, Nathan Shamuyarira, said it was unwise to ignore economic sanctions because the ongoing discussions in South Africa have not changed the apartheid policies. Considering this situation, both the countries have reaffirmed their stand in supporting the OAU decision taken at Abuja, Nigeria, and they called on the international community to maintain sanctions and isolate South Africa until it abandons its apartheid policies.

DAILY NEWS, in its front-page report on the Tanzania-Zimbabwe joint communique, discusses the agreement to consolidate bilateral economic cooperation and to promote cooperation between developing nations and African economic communities.

The Zimbabwean foreign minister and his Tanzanian counterpart, Hassan Ahmed Diria, directed the trade committee of the joint commission to speed up the promotion of bilateral trade.

Foreign Minister, Belgian Official Discuss Rwanda

EA1708161791 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
External Service in Swahili 1000 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Dar es Salaam—Belgian minister of cooperation and development, Mr. Andre Geens, has expressed satisfaction at the Tanzanian Government's efforts to bring about understanding between the Rwandan Government

and opposition groups in the country. Mr. Geens told the minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, Ndugu Ahmed Hassan Diria, that he is confident that these efforts will continue in order to perpetuate peace in the African Continent.

Ndugu Diria told Mr. Geens that Belgium and other UN organs have a major task to ensure that a lasting peaceful solution is achieved by the two sides. Ndugu Diria said Tanzania wants to see that a lasting solution to the Rwandan problem is sought and that the opposition groups must ensure that they correspond with the successful agreement reached in Dar es Salaam for a complete stop to the fighting in Rwanda.

President Mwinyi Criticizes De Klerk Government

*EA1708191591 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 15 Aug 91*

[Text] In Dar Salaam President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has said that Tanzania fully supports the formation of an interim government in South Africa that will supervise the election of a constitutional draft council which will in turn lead to one man, one vote. The president said this is in line with the declaration of the OAU official committee on South Africa which met last month in Abuja, Nigeria.

The president said this when he met Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira, the Zimbabwean foreign minister, who went to State House to meet the president today. President Mwinyi said the De Klerk Government has involved itself in many acts that have promoted killing and that are unacceptable by society to the extent that at present the leadership is not seen as one that can genuinely uphold democracy impartially.

On Mozambique, the president said Tanzania supported the current steps towards talks on a peaceful solution in that country.

Mwinyi Addresses Workers General Assembly

*EA1608154691 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1000 GMT 14 Aug 91*

[Text] Dar es Salaam—President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has called on the Tanzanian Workers Association, JUWATA, to intensify the struggle against evil deeds, slackness, laziness, and (?corruption) in work places in order to increase the nation's revenue. President Mwinyi said that it is JUWATA's duty to ensure that production costs are cut down and the bad utilization of working equipment reduced, as the association is close to the workers.

The president was opening the general assembly of the association at Dar es Salaam University, which will discuss making the association's new constitution, as it is henceforth a free and self-reliant association. Comrade Mwinyi said that although the economic situation is improving slightly and inflation has been reduced from 30 percent to 19 percent, it is still necessary to increase efforts in the production sector and to fight for greater productivity. He advised the association to launch projects that will help in achieving self-reliance, adding that it should have the freedom to decide on its own business especially at this time of political changes in the world.

Earlier, the former JUWATA secretary general, Comrade Joseph Rwegasira had said that the three-day meeting was to discuss various ways that would enable JUWATA to run its affairs as an independent association, to draft a self-governing constitution, and to discuss ways of enhancing its relations with the Revolutionary Party [CCM].

The meeting of the CCM Central Committee in May this year decided that JUWATA should be a self-reliant association which should restructure itself in accordance with the country's rules on workers' associations.

ANC, IFP, Government Peace Accord Reported

*MB1708191791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1911 GMT 17 Aug 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 17 SAPA—The government, Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] and African National Congress [ANC] pledged this week to uphold basic democratic values and promised to work towards creating a culture of political tolerance. This was revealed by a 70-page draft accord resulting from a meeting earlier this week between the three parties. The Johannesburg-based SUNDAY TIMES, in early editions available Saturday night, published details of the document.

The accord, according to the SUNDAY TIMES, sets up elaborate mechanisms to end the violence and bring the police under close supervision. Key elements include:

- a code of conduct for the police which holds members of the SAP [South African Police] accountable to society—not the government.
- a code of conduct for political parties which commits them to ingraining democratic tolerance in their members.
- a network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a national peace committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels.
- a statutory commission, headed by a judge or retired judge, to investigate and expose causes of violence.
- the appointment of a police board—with equal representation for the force and members of the public—to advise on future policing policy.
- the setting up of a special police unit, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the force.
- the appointment of regional ombudsmen to ensure proper investigation of all complaints against the police.
- the creation of another special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence.
- the setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.

The agreement was drafted by members of the Preparatory Committee, in sessions mediated by church and business leaders, the SUNDAY TIMES reported.

Further on Peace Plan

*MB1808121291 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 18 Aug 91 pp 1, 2*

[Report by political correspondent Mike Robertson: "Here Is the Peace Plan"]

[Text] In a historic peace pact, the ANC [African National Congress], the government and Inkatha pledged this week to uphold basic democratic values and promised to work towards creating a culture of political tolerance.

The 70-page draft accord—full details of which can now be disclosed by the SUNDAY TIMES—sets up elaborate mechanisms to end the violence and bring the police under close supervision.

But it also anticipates the coming constitutional negotiations by uniting the three main political parties in support of a set of common values that may well form the basis of a liberal, democratic state.

The tone of the agreement is tolerant, and it firmly asserts the primacy of the individual over the state. While intended as an interim measure, the effect of the pact is to bind all three signatories to Western-style democratic norms well in advance of the constitutional talks.

The accord, now being considered by other political parties, will form the basis of a national peace summit on September 14.

Key elements of the draft proposals accepted by the parties this week are:

- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members;
- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels;
- A statutory commission, to be headed by a judge or a retired judge, to investigate and expose the causes of violence;
- The appointment of a police board—with equal representation for the force and members of the public—to advise on future policing policy;
- The setting up of a special police unit, headed by a general to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the force;
- The appointment of regional ombudsmen to ensure the proper investigation of all complaints against the police;
- The creation of another special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence;
- The setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.

The agreement was crafted by members of the preparatory committee, in many sessions mediated by church and business leaders. Among the key figures involved were Middelburg Steel's John Hall, Anglo American's Bobby Godsell, former NGK [Dutch Reformed Church] Moderator Johan Heyns, National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry president Sam Motsuenyane, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rustenburg Church Group co-chairman Louw Alberts.

The government's representatives included Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers and NP [National Party] defence spokesman Boy Geldenhuys.

The ANC alliance delegation included International Affairs director Thabo Mbeki, NEC [National Executive Committee] member Aziz Pahad, Cosatu's [Congress of South African Trade Unions] Sydney Mufamadi and the SA [South African] Communist Party's Jeremy Cronin.

Inkatha representatives included national chairman Frank Mdlalose and central committee members Denis Madide, Walter Felgate and Suzanne Vos.

Central to the functioning of the peace accord is the National Peace Committee [NPC]. All signatories to the accord will be represented on the committee, which will have a businessman and church leader as chairman and vice-chairman respectively.

The NPC will be charged with implementing the accord and resolving any disputes which may arise. All decisions will be made by consensus.

If consensus is not reached, an arbitrator will be appointed, whose decision will be final.

A National Peace Secretariat [NPS] will be appointed to set up structures to actively combat violence and intimidation at grassroots level.

The NPS will consist of full-time representatives of the ANC alliance, the NP, Inkatha and the Department of Justice, as well as five other members.

The function of the secretariat will be to establish and co-ordinate Regional Dispute Resolution Committees (RDRCs) and Local Dispute Resolution Committees. It will report to the National Peace Committee and its decisions will be made by consensus.

All the monitoring committees, from the NPC down, will initially operate on a voluntary basis, but will be given statutory powers when Parliament reconvenes next year.

The accord says that RDRCs should consist of representatives of political parties, churches, trade unions, industries, business, local management organisations, the SAP [South African Police] and the SADF [South African Defense Force].

The duties of the committees would be to:

- Advise the NPC or the statutory commission on factors causing violence in its region;
- Inform the NPC of steps taken to counter violence;
- Consult the relevant authorities on steps to be taken to combat violence;
- Guide LDRCs [Legal Dispute Resolution Committee] in their duties.

LDRCs, the accord states, should consist of representatives of the signatory parties.

It is proposed that a panel of mediators be appointed by RDRCs to facilitate the setting up of these committees.

The duties of LDRCs will include:

- Settling disputes which cause public violence;

- Eliminating conditions which may harm peace accords;
- Creating trust and effecting reconciliation between grassroots leadership of relevant organisations, including the SAP and the SADF;
- Agreeing on rules and conditions for marches, rallies and gatherings;
- Liaising with local police and magistrates on matters concerning the prevention of violence and the holding of rallies, marches and gatherings.

The accord also proposes that justices of the peace be appointed to act as the "eyes and ears" of the LDRCs.

The National Peace Committee and the various Regional Dispute Resolution Committees will establish permanent sub-groups on socio-economic reconstruction and development.

These groups, the accord states, would be charged with reconstructing damaged property and reintegrating displaced people back into the community.

The accord adds that these groups should also facilitate crisis assistance to victims of violence and take action when the lack of infrastructure is a spark to violence.

The peace accord is built around the statutory commission of inquiry established by the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act passed by Parliament this year.

The signatories to the accord agreed that the commission be used as an instrument to investigate and expose the background to and reasons for violence and intimidation.

The commission will be headed by a judge or a retired judge who will be assisted by a senior advocate, attorney or law professor.

The accord states that, to ensure that the commission gains credibility, these two appointments will be made only after consultation with all interested parties.

Representatives of the ANC, the NP and Inkatha will also serve on the commission.

The commission's functions will include:

- Investigating the causes of violence and intimidation;
- Recommending measures capable of containing the cycle of violence and preventing further violence;
- Making recommendations on the funding of the peace process;
- Recommending compensation for victims of violence;

The proceedings of the commission will be held in public unless it decides otherwise.

On completing its investigations, the commission will report to the State President. A copy of the report will also be handed to the NPC.

The commission may also refer any evidence that bears to an attorney-general or special courts for investigation.

Units

The accord makes provision for the creation of two special police units, both headed by generals.

The first unit will have the job of investigating political violence. Senior police officers working for this unit will be attached to special criminal courts set up to deal with crimes of political violence.

The officers will submit a monthly report on the progress or outcome of their investigations to the general who, in turn, will inform the NPC.

The second unit has the responsibility of investigating allegations of police misconduct. Members will operate in each police district and their work will be overseen by ombudsmen.

The ombudsman in each region will be appointed by the Minister of Law and Order from a shortlist of three names put forward by the Association of Law Societies and the General Council of the Bar.

Force

On completion of his investigations, the ombudsman will make a recommendation to the Commissioner of Police on what action should be taken against policemen guilty of misconduct.

The accord also makes provision for the appointment of a Police Board, on which the public and members of the force will have equal representation.

Members of the board will be appointed by the Minister of Law and Order from a shortlist agreed on by the NPC.

The function of the board will be to make recommendations on future policing policy.

As regards the general functioning of the police, the document states that there will be one overall command—if homeland governments agree.

Clear instructions are also laid down to ensure the police use minimum force when dealing with unlawful gatherings.

Accord 'Stifles' Covert Action

*MB1808123991 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 18 Aug 91 p 1*

[Report by political correspondent Mike Robertson: "Accord Stifles Covert Action"]

[Text] The draft peace accord agreed to this week empowers a standing commission on violence to seize state records if it believes the security forces are engaged in operations biased against a particular party.

The steps agreed to by the government, ANC [African National Congress] and Inkatha are designed to prevent a recurrence of the Inkatha funding scandal.

The setting up of the commission was approved by Parliament earlier this year. It will be headed by a judge or retired judge, but representatives of the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party will also serve on it.

In terms of the accord, the SAP [South African Police] and SADF [South African Defense Force] "shall not countenance the establishment or maintenance of any clandestine or covert operation which is contrary to the letter and spirit of the agreement."

This includes:

- Any operation biased towards or against a political party;
- Any operation which seeks to promote, undermine or influence a political party by means of illegal acts or disinformation;
- Channelling funds to any political party, trade union, political association or group;
- Training or providing funds, weapons or ammunition to non-security force members to carry out actions which support or undermine a political party.

The accord stipulates that the SAP and SADF disclose to the signatory parties the existence of any operations which breach these rules.

If no such operations exist, the SAP and SADF will have to say so.

To ensure compliance, the standing commission will be "entitled by warrant to enter and inspect any place and interrogate any security force member and seize any record or piece of evidence" on receiving a complaint or information that members of the security forces are in breach of the accord.

Peace Plan To Promote 'Tolerance'

*MB1808124391 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 18 Aug 91 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Taking the Wraps Off the Historic Peace Plan"]

[Text]

The New Way

The National Party, Inkatha and the African National Congress [ANC] have all undertaken to promote a culture of democratic tolerance among their members.

In the draft peace accord the three agreed that no political party or its representatives would:

- Kill, threaten or intimidate people because of their political beliefs;
- Interfere, obstruct or threaten anyone travelling to or from political gatherings;
- Force any one to join a political party.

The three also undertook to actively discourage and prevent their members from carrying any weapons to political meetings.

The parties also agreed not to use language calculated to incite violence at political meetings.

When arranging political events, the parties undertook to inform the authorities of the date, place, duration and, where applicable, route of rallies and marches.

Ban on Weapons

The draft peace accord reached this week prohibits the carrying of dangerous weapons at any political or cultural gatherings.

However, it is understood that Inkatha is balking at this proposal and it could be subject to revision prior to the convening of a peace summit on September 14.

The draft accord stipulates that the bearing or use of any dangerous weapons shall be prohibited at any political, cultural or other gathering.

Bona fide cultural events in areas not affected by violence are exempt from this prohibition.

The accord stipulates that any gathering addressed by a representative of a political organisation shall be deemed not to be a bona fide cultural event.

Organisations convening bona fide cultural events will have to inform Regional Dispute Resolution Committees or the National Peace Committees of their intention to stage such an event.

Armies Are Out

The government, ANC and Inkatha have agreed that there should be no private armies in South Africa.

The peace accord states it is the right of all individuals to establish self-defence units. This includes the right to bear licensed arms and to use them in legitimate and lawful self-defence.

However, the parties agreed that no political organisation would establish self-defence units on the basis of party affiliation as this would be tantamount to forming private armies.

The accord makes provision for the establishment of liaison structures between self-defence units and the police. It says that the SAP [South African Police] remains responsible for maintenance of law and order and should not be hindered in any way by self-defence units.

NPI Urges Media Responsibility

*MB1808163491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1626 GMT 18 Aug 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 18 SAPA—The Preparatory Committee of the National Peace Initiative [NPI] on Sunday urged the media to act responsibly, "in the interest of lasting

peace in our country" following the publication of a confidential draft of a proposed peace accord by the the Johannesburg based SUNDAY TIMES.

In a statement reacting to the publication of the draft, the NPI Preparatory Committee said the present phase of the peace process was at a very sensitive stage and it was appalled that "press reports have created the false impression that the peace accord has been formally finalised".

"Some issues are still to be finalised and other political parties to be consulted for their inputs," the statement said.

The NPI committee said the draft would be used as a proposal and put forward at the National Peace Convention on September 14 and would only become a binding document after all parties had signed.

The committee said it was unfortunate "a certain paper"—the SUNDAY TIMES—saw it fit to pre-empt the consultative process and quote and comment on an incomplete and highly confidential draft discussion document particularly as editors of the media had been invited, on August 16, to a full briefing session on Monday.

According to the NPI statement the press report was based on an earlier draft which had not been confirmed or cleared with any of the parties involved. It also said it was made clear to all those in possession of the draft peace accord, that the document was a provisional one and highly confidential. "This confidentiality is necessary in the early stages of highly sensitive and direct negotiations. Negotiating in public or through the media complicates this already difficult process," the statement said.

"Leaks based on incomplete and premature discussion documents, such as the one used by the Sunday press, are clearly not in the interest of the political parties, the peace process and our country." The NPI committee said the political parties involved, the African National Congress alliance, the government/National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, businessmen and church groups had committed themselves to consultation and feedback to the broader spectrum of parties.

It said in fairness to these parties and in an attempt to create a multi-party process, this (the consultation and feedback) had to take place before the draft peace accord was made public or debated in public.

The statement concluded that there was not, at present an authorised version of a draft peace accord in existence saying it was still being finalised and would only then be made available to all parties concerned.

This the statement said would happen in the next few days after which all parties would consult and discuss it with their respective constituencies.

'Preliminary' Agreement Reached on Exiles' Return

*LD1608105191 Bern Swiss Radio International
in English 1000 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Text] South Africa and the Geneva-based office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] have reached preliminary agreement on the return of an estimated 40,000 political exiles under a general amnesty. A UNHCR spokeswoman said the agreement allows for the opening of a bureau in South Africa in what will be the first direct UN operation in the country for 30 years. The Government of South Africa is said to have agreed to grant a general amnesty to thousands of antiapartheid opponents who went into political exile over the past 30 years. Under the agreement, the UNHCR office will oversee their return to South Africa.

Further on Amnesty Agreement

*MB1608135291 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1200 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Text] The South African Government has agreed to grant a general amnesty to all political exiles. This was announced by the head of the African Division for the UN High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR], Nicholas Bwakira. Bwakira says the agreement has been made with South Africa's ambassador in Geneva, Albert Manley.

Political analyst Richard Humphreys says this is the most significant move the government has made since the unbanning of antiapartheid organizations in February last year. He says people who had fought apartheid are having the slate wiped clean of any crimes they might have committed in the liberation struggle.

[Begin Humphreys recording] Coming a day after the peace accord signed, or to be signed, by the ANC [African National Congress], by Inkatha, and the government, I think this really means that the negotiation process is now firmly irreversible and is firmly (?on). [end recording]

A UNHCR official says a document detailing the amnesty would be signed this afternoon.

Foreign Minister Details Agreement

*MB1608163091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1626 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[By Dirk van Zyl]

[Text] Pretoria Aug 16 SAPA—The South African Government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had reached an agreement on the voluntary repatriation and reintegration of SA [South African] exiles, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed on Friday afternoon.

The signing of the agreement is expected to take place soon, possibly within days, he told an international news conference at the Union Buildings.

Important features of the agreement—which Mr Botha stressed should not be interpreted as a "general amnesty"—include:

- that the SA Government has invited the UNHCR to establish and maintain a temporary office in South Africa for 12 months, unless otherwise agreed to, to assist in helping the process of the repatriation and reintegration of SA returnees who choose voluntarily to return peacefully as civilians;

- the UNHCR is to perform its functions in a strictly humanitarian, neutral and non-partisan manner;

- nothing in the agreement is to be construed as derogating from the sovereignty of the RSA;

- a returnee must be a South African refugee and/or political exile who returns voluntarily and peacefully to South Africa as an unarmed civilian in terms of the agreement;

- a political offence is defined as any offence, excluding serious common law offences, which, in the application of the relevant guidelines, is regarded as a political offence. The guidelines, contained in an annexure, include that the motive of an offender should be taken into account; also the context within which the offence was committed; the nature of the political objective; the legal and factual nature of the offence, including gravity; the object and/or objective of the offence; the relationship between the offence and the political objective being pursued; and the question whether the act was committed in the execution of an order or with the approval of the organisation concerned.

- it remains the exclusive prerogative of the SA Government to grant amnesty to returnees regarding offences they may have committed before 12 noon on October 8, 1990;

- all returnees are to be subject to the laws of South Africa, subject to the provisions of the agreement;

- once indemnity has been granted, the tempo of repatriation is to be determined by the returnees themselves;

- the UNHCR is to organise and facilitate the implementation of all phases of the repatriation programme—in consultation with the SA government—and is to seek the necessary funds and mobilise the required human, material and technical resources. (Mr Botha said he had information that a number of countries—mainly industrial ones—wanted to donate funds);

- a Voluntary Repatriation Application Form (VRAF) is to be completed by the applicants;

—the UNHCR may provide information available to it from the VRAFs, which may help in determining whether returnees qualify for indemnity, to the Department of Justice in Pretoria;

—the government is to advise the UNHCR in writing whether a returnee has been granted indemnity. Where this has been refused, the government may furnish the relevant information. The UNHCR is to advise such person accordingly;

—travel documents are to be issued by the SA authorities and delivered to the UNHCR for transmission to those people cleared for return.

Mr Botha said the agreement had been reached in a spirit of give-and-take.

The SA Government would participate in the repatriation programme in such a way that local communities did not feel they had been disadvantaged.

Estimates of exiles varied from 10,000 to 40,000—no-one could accurately give the exact number.

UNHCR Official Interviewed

MB1608171091 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Telephone interview with Nicolas Bwakira of the UNHCR by Robin White on the "Focus on Africa" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] After 501 days of negotiations between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] and the South African Government, agreement has finally been reached on the future of South African refugees and political exiles. There are some 40,000 South Africans living abroad and they are to be repatriated after the tricky discussions on issues such as amnesty. It is a key step in the process of political change going on in South Africa. Well, one of the chief UNHCR negotiators was Nicolas Bwakira. On the line, Robin White asked him where all the refugees were.

[Begin recording] [Bwakira] These 40,000 are spread throughout the world, mainly in African Frontline States and the rest of Africa, and they are in more than 40 countries in the world.

[White] But are they mostly people who were involved in the armed struggle against South Africa?

[Bwakira] Several were involved in armed struggle. Several were involved in political and diplomatic struggle.

[White] But has it been difficult to reach agreement with the South African Government because the South Africans thought they had been involved in acts of violence?

[Bwakira] You see, the South African Government has been acting on the wrong premises, the fact that they believe that people who have gone out are criminals,

while we believe they are innocent victims of apartheid. So, if they have fought against apartheid, they have led a legitimate struggle.

[White] Could I ask you if this agreement covers white South Africans who ran away from military service?

[Bwakira] Well they cover everybody. Our agreement has no racial boundary.

[White] I hear you have been involved in talks which have gone on for 501 days. It must have been pretty gruelling and pretty boring?

[Bwakira] I have been involved from the first day up to the last day. It has been extremely difficult. It has been painful, protracted negotiations. But what is important is that we have succeeded.

[White] I gather that at one time, you threatened the South Africans that that was it unless they got on with it?

[Bwakira] Well I don't think that it is because we have threatened them. I think they have, it has been wise on their side to see that they were in the wrong. They were just following the wrong path. They have gone now to the right path.

[White] Is one of the important things about this agreement that you are now able to open an office in South Africa?

[Bwakira] That is right. This is one of the key issues which has been settled. We will be opening in near future an office in South Africa, in Johannesburg, and we will open the other suboffices where it is necessary to receive the exiles when they arrive.

[White] And so when might the operation actually kick off?

[Bwakira] I would say that we would be prepared to establish an office in a matter of 10 to 15 days; we will be able to establish the first office in South Africa.

[White] And will there be a massive airlift of [word indistinct] from a country like Zambia. Is that what ...

[Bwakira, interrupting] Absolutely, absolutely. This operation will be undertaken mainly by air from Zambia, Botswana, Angola, from Tanzania. We have several hundreds of children in Tanzania, for instance, who have been waiting for this operation. Some of the refugees have started going spontaneously. Unfortunately, some of the people who have gone spontaneously have been arrested. This is one of our major concerns, which we would hope we will avoid through this agreement.

[White] Those that were arrested, will they now be released?

[Bwakira] We are aware of over 100 people who have been arrested in one of the homelands and we hope that they will be released soon.

[White] But basically you must be a pretty pleased man today?

[Bwakira] I am. [end recording]

De Klerk Names Committee on Secret Funding

*MB1808181091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1804 GMT 18 Aug 91*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 18 SAPA—State President F.W. de Klerk on Sunday announced his advisory committee from the private sector on special secret projects pending the completion of a revision of legislation relating to secret funds. The committee will be chaired by Prof Ellison Kahn, SC [special counsel]. He will be assisted by Prof S.A.S. Strauss, SC, Mr J.O. McMillan and Mr J.A. Crafford. It is expected the committee will commence its activities on September 2, the statement from Pretoria said.

President de Klerk's statement said the committee would advise him on whether continuing special secret projects met the requirement that political parties or organisations should not benefit from them and whether these projects were in the broader national interest and were able to play a positive part in promoting peace and counteracting violence, intimidation, sanctions and isolation. The committee would also be empowered to determine its own guidelines for evaluating the projects.

President de Klerk said the committee would also advise him of the adequacy of the existing control measures of special projects as well as on the completion of contractual obligations in respect of cancelled projects. He added it was not intended for the committee to function on a permanent basis as legislation containing new control measures was envisaged.

Regarding the intended changes to legislation on secret funding, Mr de Klerk said it was intended to give adequate opportunities to all people or institutions to submit contributions. Those already submitted he said would be followed up and given thorough consideration in the formulation of the legislation envisaged.

He concluded the advisory committee would also advise him on this legislation.

Prof Ellison Kahn is a retired dean of the Faculties of Law and Commerce at the University of the Witwatersrand [Wits]. Previously he was the vice-chancellor. At present he is professor emeritus and has been the editor of the SA [South African] LAW JOURNAL since 1950. He holds honorary doctorates from the Universities of Cape Town, Natal and Wits.

Prof S.A.S. Strauss is a professor of law at the University of SA [South Africa], he is a member of the University Council, the SA Media Council and the SA Medical Research Council. He is also one of the vice-presidents of the World Association of Medical Law.

Mr J.O. McMillan is a retired editor. He was in journalism for 40 years and editor of the NATAL MERCURY for the last 26 years. He retired in March this year.

Mr J.A. Crafford is a retired chartered accountant with 38 years auditing experience. He served on the Task Group for Budgetary Procedures and is at present a director of companies.

Plot To Kill ANC's Hani, Transkeian Leader

*MB1608123991 Johannesburg NEW NATION
in English 16-22 Aug 91 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Hani Murder Plot"]

[Text] Plans for another coup against the Transkei military government, this time involving the assassination of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)—ANC Military Wing] chief of staff Chris Hani and General Bantu Holomisa were uncovered by NEW NATION this week.

This follows the exposure of top-secret documents last week in which the Transkei Group and disgraced former president Kaizer Matanzima detailed various ways in which Holomisa's government could be unseated.

Military coups with the help of the South African Defence Force (SADF) were suggested as possible options in both documents, said to have been drawn up in 1989. Foreign affairs' chief director for the homelands Dries Venter this week confirmed that he had received a memorandum from the Transkei Group in which various options to topple Holomisa were suggested.

Information uncovered by NEW NATION this week once again implicates the SADF in the coup attempt planned for April 25 this year.

Some of the initial planning, according to information in NEW NATION's possession, had taken place during a meeting in the office of the head of Ciskei's military government, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Among those present at the meeting were members of the SADF, whose names are known to NEW NATION.

Meetings had also taken place at the home of a SA Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) representative, who is also known to NEW NATION.

An SADF member present at the meeting in Gqozo's office, also attended the meeting at the SABC representative's house.

In terms of the plan, the assassination of Holomisa and Hani was to have been carried out by trained members the Transkei Group. Members of the SADF would have been deployed in the homeland immediately after Hani and Holomisa had been killed.

Their occupation of the homeland would have taken place under the pretext that they had been asked to maintain law and order and search for MK bases.

Its real purpose, however, would have been to monitor the movement of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) while a take-over by members of the Transkei Group was in progress.

Vulindlela Mbotoli, currently in detention in the Transkei for his alleged role in the planned coup, was chosen to succeed Holomisa after the assassination. Nkosekaya Gobingca, described as a close associate of Mbotoli, was named as one of his possible lieutenants. Gobingca is also in jail in the Transkei.

It was also at the meeting in Gqozo's office that Gobingca was charged with the task of collecting intelligence in preparation for the coup.

He was ordered to confirm the location of MK bases in the homeland and the presence of any sophisticated weapons.

While plans were far advanced, there appeared to be some degree of opposition from SA's security police because of the timing of the coup and the effect it could have on F.W. de Klerk in his dealings with the ANC [African National Congress].

A Lieutenant Jordaan called Gobingca and expressed the security police's unhappiness with the plans.

32 Former ANC Detainees Arrive at Jan Smuts

MB1808053691 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1100 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Thirty-two former detainees of the ANC [African National Congress] arrived at Jan Smuts Airport last night. The 32 so-called agents of the South African Government did not pass through customs to the arrivals hall, and some reports said that they had been met by officials of the International Red Cross before entering the airport terminal building. The ANC said yesterday that the release of all prisoners had been completed.

ANC Says Suspected Agents, Infiltrators Released

MB1608184091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1834 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 16 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] on Friday revealed that it had released all suspected agents and infiltrators in terms of an undertaking in February this year, adding that 32 of the "most notorious" would land at Jan Smuts [Airport] on Saturday evening and be handed over to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

"In February 1991, the ANC resolved to release all persons the movement was holding in detention by, on, or before 31 May, 1991. This process was completed and

all persons whom the ANC had apprehended as secret agents, spies, agent provocateurs and hired assassins in the employ of the South African Government's security services are now at liberty," the organisation said in a statement in Johannesburg.

Some, who had been released, had elected either to return home or be reintegrated in the ranks of the ANC or take up scholarships for study and training abroad.

"Thirty-two—who were among the most notorious—will be returning to South Africa on Flight SA 185, arriving at Jan Smuts at 21.30. The ANC has provided air tickets and passports, and on their arrival, they will be the responsibility of the International Committee of the Red Cross," the statement ended.

16 Aug Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB1608121391

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Praise for Treurnicht Stand Against Weapons at Party Meetings—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 16 August in a page 12 editorial says "it is a rare pleasure to be able to commend a pronouncement by Dr Andries Treurnicht. His call to party followers not to carry weapons at political events and to 'normalise' politics is, in the wake of Ventersdorp, both brave and honourable. Dr Treurnicht stands accused of flirting with the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and its violent bully-boys, but in this case at least he has gone further than ever before towards condemning their tactics." "There is a seat waiting for the party on the negotiations train. By taking it, Dr Treurnicht will leave behind those hangers-on who are not committed to peace—and the sooner that happens, the better."

BUSINESS DAY

Local Government Interim Arrangements Needed—South Africa "may have the luxury of another few years in which to negotiate solutions to national constitutional questions, but the near collapse of services in Soweto shows there is not the same sort of leeway where local government is concerned," points out a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 16 August. The long-term solution must lie in the "integration of the administrations and governments of the white cities and their satellite black residential areas. Regional services councils were an apartheid-style attempt to move in that direction. The Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber and the Randburg-Sandton-Alexandra negotiating forum are far more credible organisations for this purpose. But interim arrangements are needed now."

BUSINESS DAY

Military Deal With ANC Likely—Steven Friedman writes in his "Worm's Eye" column on page 17 of Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for

16-22 August that a military deal between the South African Defense Force, SADF, and the ANC military wing "may be likely, whether or not Hani is part of it. While Meyer [soon to be defense minister] may well not enjoy the support among the SADF that Hani commands in Umkhonto [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing], there is some evidence that senior SADF officers may be more open to a compromise than Magnus Malan implied they were." The Umkhonto conference "suggests that the ANC army, too, may be willing to accept less than they had hoped for; the meeting voiced no opposition to negotiation. But, even if a deal is possible whoever negotiates it, Hani's absence is unlikely to make the bargaining any easier."

De Klerk Willing To Act Against Whites—"Among the damning accusations" that rightwingers throw at President De Klerk is that he is a "volksverraier—a leader who has turned his back on his own people," begins a page 18 editorial. "The comparisons appeared starkly obvious again during the bloody battle of Ventersdorp" on 9 August. "Whether or not De Klerk planned it that way, going to Ventersdorp has paradoxically boosted him, particularly in the wake of the Inkathagate scandal. The international community has been vividly reminded of the demons and ogres on De Klerk's rightwing, and their need to support him as the man capable of delivering reform. Many ordinary black people now see him as a leader willing to act as strongly against whites as against blacks."

NEW NATION

De Klerk Hopes Ventersdorp Will 'Rehabilitate' His Image—"The weekend events of Ventersdorp and the deaths of three AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] members are much more significant than meets the eye, because they signal and expose a government that is desperately trying to project itself as being embattled between the left and the right wing," states Johannesburg **NEW NATION** in English for 16-22 August in a page 6 editorial. Despite this, "the government is itself the creator and lifeline of the right wing in this country," and "we believe that Ventersdorp was important for him because it would help rehabilitate his tarnished image abroad. The violence he knew would materialise was the dose his profile needed at the time."

17 Aug

MB1708095091

[Editorial Report]

SATURDAY STAR

Accord on Exiles Shows Negotiating Process 'Sophisticated'—"For the first time, the UN [United Nations] seems set to play a role in co-operation with, rather than against, the South African Government. This suggests that our negotiating process is finally becoming politically sophisticated," states Johannesburg **SATURDAY STAR** in English on 17 August in a page 12 editorial. If

the Pretoria-UN accord on returning exiles "lives up to expectations," "then there will be a real possibility that the round-table constitutional talks" "could get going within weeks." "For once, both the ANC [African National Congress] and the Government are bullish about taking the next step toward peace: the public should take them up on their pronouncements."

19 Aug

MB1908103691

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY STAR

Commitment Needed for Accords Success—"South Africa is moving swiftly towards the start of real negotiations at a multi-party conference—whatever it will be called," begins a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg **SUNDAY STAR** in English on 18 August. "But there is also the danger that some of the important players will hedge their bets and seek further delays." The Sandton draft peace accord was achieved even as "appalling political bloodshed continued from Alexandra to Khayelitsha, with the inevitable aftermath of accusations and counter-accusations." Therefore, "memoranda and accords are nothing more than paper unless all significant parties commit themselves to their success. And if each party insists obstinately on its own point of view agreements will be doomed—as will the prospects for success at the imminent multiparty conference. Much time has been lost already through bickering and dithering. The country cannot afford any more delays."

SUNDAY TIMES

Participants of Peace Accord Like 'Embryo Interim Government'—Johannesburg **SUNDAY TIMES** in English on 18 August says in its page 20 editorial South Africans "can take heart from the draft National Peace Accord which emerged this week from church-sponsored negotiations between the government, the ANC [African National Congress] and Inkatha." "That the values adopted in the pact are profoundly democratic and essentially liberal, rather than marxist or authoritarian, should be a matter of rare satisfaction to South Africa's tiny, oft-defeated, usually self-deprecatory liberal community. On only one point—the rejection, almost in passing, of federal structures—can any liberal object to the values which this document lays down: freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of association, the right of peaceful assembly, freedom of movement, the right to participate freely in peaceful political activity. Indeed, in thus anticipating much of the debate over a bill of rights, the main parties have undertaken a democratic commitment from which they will find it difficult to retreat." **SUNDAY TIMES** believes the accord is an "ingenious mechanism that both preserves the sovereignty of the government, and yet allows the major external parties—the ANC and Inkatha—a substantive function in overseeing the maintenance of law and order. While none of the participants, we imagine,

would approve our choice of words, it looks suspiciously like an embryo interim government. In the minds of the Conservative Party leaders, and perhaps those of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], it must raise a question whether they have been wise to exclude themselves from the process. Further such agreements will surely follow, and by the time the constitution comes to be written down, it may all have been settled in advance."

THE STAR

Call for Value Added Tax Postponement—The government "should take cognisance of the growing opposition to the proposed introduction of VAT [value added tax] at the end of next month," warns a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 19 August. The government should "at the very least, postpone the switch from GST [general sales tax]." "Government schemes to aid the poor after VAT is introduced are woefully inadequate, even assuming—which we do not—that they will be efficiently administered. The ANC has a point: there is no compelling argument to introduce so far-reaching a change when the vast majority of people are still disenfranchised. All the more so since they will bear a major part of the new system's initial burden."

Pretoria 'Double-Speak' on School Apartheid—A second editorial on the same page says "Pretoria cannot continue its double-speak, talking of ending school apartheid while still defending 'the interests of various languages and race groups'" THE STAR agrees with the Kagiso Trust's Eric Molobi who suggests that underutilized or unused schools be handed to a national

education trust to administer as nonracial institutions while a new education dispensation is worked out. "It's an idea worth consideration."

BUSINESS DAY

Government Loses 'Composure' Over New Value Added Tax—"Government will have to produce some fancy footwork to regain its composure on VAT," states Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 19 August in a page 8 editorial. "It is giving every appearance of having lost control, and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has little time in which to retrieve the situation. Faced with condemnation of the tax by the ANC, trade unions and many consumer organisations, and urgent appeals from the SA [South African] Chamber of Business to end uncertainty about it, government has invited consultation by the ANC and promised announcements this week."

SOWETAN

Government Plays Political Games Over Exiles' Return—"The Government is insisting that there is no blanket permission for all exiles to return home," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 19 August. "This is despite the agreement signed last week involving the United Nations." "For the Government still to treat the exiles as though they were enemies of the State is a gesture of no confidence in the negotiation process which must begin. The Government would do the country a greater favour if it simply said this: The exiles are fellow South Africans who left the country because of their disgust for apartheid. Instead the Government is still playing political games."

Angola

Dos Santos Reappoints Minister, Staff Chief

MB1708185691 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has reappointed General Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale and Gen. Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu to the posts of defense minister and chief of the Angolan Armed Forces General Staff, respectively. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who is also the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, temporarily took charge of the two posts on 7 November.

UN Approves Peacekeeping, Elections Force Budget

MB1608134491 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English 1100 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] The United Nations has approved a \$121-million budget for the UN peacekeeping force that will help to supervise the Angolan peace agreement and multiparty elections next year. The budget was approved in New York by the UN Commission of Administrative and Budgetary Affairs. The money is expected to cover the expenses of the UN force in Angola for the next 17 months.

In the meantime, reports from Luanda say the United States might normalize its relations with the Angolan Government in the near future. Some American sanctions that were imposed since the independence of Angola in 1975 could also be lifted. However, the United States has made it clear that it will only recognize the Angolan Government officially after free elections are held.

Control Groups Installed in Benguela Province

MB1708084091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] The last group responsible for the verification and control of the Angolan peace accords was installed just outside the Culango-Lobito village yesterday. That is the planned confinement area for government troops in Benguela Province.

The group includes 21 elements, including 12 National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, and Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, representatives. The group also includes Lobito city-based UNAVEM [UN Angola Verification Mission]-2 staff.

Another verification and control group has been installed in Chingongo commune, Balombo, to supervise the confinement of FALA troops. UNITA had requested that area in exchange for Banja.

It has been learned that at least 37 FALA units formerly operating on the so-called Catumbela front, which comprises Benguela, Lobito, and Bocoio Districts, will be confined to that area. The remainder of UNITA's military forces [as heard] will be installed in Huila Province, some 20 km from Quilengues town.

UNITA Says Government Wants CCPM Postponement

MB1708072691 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Arguments concerning the points on the agenda of the Joint Political and Military Commission's [CCPM] session led to its postponement yesterday.

Brigadier Correia Vitor, a UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] representative on the CCPM, has said that the Angolan Government requested the postponement. He refused to explain why the government had made that request, but said that it was normal behavior in accordance with CCPM regulations.

Major General Juliao Mateus Paulo, a representative of the Angolan Government on the CCPM, noted that UNITA was supposed to have chaired the meeting and that it had presented an agenda whose most important point would be an assessment of all the work that has already been carried out by the CCPM.

Maj. Gen. Juliao Mateus Paulo described this as a premature move and added that UNITA's agenda did not contain any substantive issues for discussion.

He said that yesterday's meeting was supposed to have focused on the continued prisoner release process, an (electoral timetable), and other issues which he described as crucial. Maj. Gen. Juliao Paulo also noted that the meeting was supposed to have discussed the CCPM's spending and that this issue would come up for discussion at the next session, which is expected to set the number of UNITA elements on the CCPM who are staying in Luanda hotels. Their expenses have become a source of serious concern to the Angolan Government.

Troop Confinement in Cuando Cubango, Huambo, Bie

MB1708152091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] The Joint Political and Military Commission did not hold its meeting today. All the same, the exercise to confine to specific areas troops belonging to the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] and the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] is under way in different provinces of the country. Our Cuando Cubango correspondent Filipe Gaspar reports:

[Begin Gaspar recording] The Cuando Cubango military commander has said that FAPLA troops in the province are only waiting for orders to be confined to Missombo

Commune and Cuito Cuanavale District. He said the logistical problems which hindered their confinement have already been resolved.

In turn, the FALA guerrillas on the outskirts of Menongue City [Cuando Cubango capital] will be confined to Jamba. A UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] official on the Joint Military Commission said this is aimed at guaranteeing their troops quick logistic supply.

Meanwhile, the activities of the Cease-Fire Verification and Control Group deployed in Menongue City last July are at an advanced stage. The group, under the control of the UN Angola Verification Mission-2, has been operating at Menongue Airport and (Missombo). [end recording]

The confinement of government and UNITA troops in Huambo and Bie Provinces was scheduled to take place this Saturday [17 August] or Sunday. Correspondent Bernardo Rui has details:

[Begin Rui recording] The Luanda Radio Nacional learned from FAPLA's Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Dala Incaca, chief of a regional monitoring group; and FALA's Brigadier David Wanda, [words indistinct] that the confinement of government and UNITA troops in Huambo and Bie Provinces will take place either on Saturday or Sunday. According to these officers, the government and UNITA troops are already near their confinement areas. They said there are still some technical problems to be sorted out although the transportation and logistic problems have already been resolved.

Lt. Col. Antonio Dala Incaca said the existing relationship between FAPLA and FALA military commands is good although UNITA troops have been intimidating people.

In reply, Brig. David Wanda said the peace accords should be respected. [end recording]

FAPLA Soldiers Reportedly Kill Two Namibians

MB1808062291 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0510 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] A Namibian citizen named Noah was mortally shot by a group of four positively identified FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers who illegally penetrated Namibian territory at the beginning of this week.

Our news desk received reliable reports yesterday saying that the incident occurred near the 25-km marker on the other side of the Angolan-Namibian border. Those reports also say that the FAPLA soldiers involved were Bernardo Moiali Agua, Gervasio Silomo, (Soucomo Halo), and Lucas Profilho Sicaleni. They all serve in the elite Angolan Border Guard Troops, TGFA, of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party and are stationed in the area of the 25-km marker, near the Angolan villages of Nalaconde and Melunga.

Another Namibian citizen was killed near the 22-km marker on Wednesday [14 August].

FAPLA's new behavior is a source of serious concern to civilians on both sides of the border.

UNITA on Benguela Civilians Movement Stopped

MB1808064291 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0510 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party] troops in Balombo and Dombe Grande, in Benguela Province, are preventing the free movement of people and goods. Reliable sources in the area report that FAPLA's [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] Cacadores [hunters] Battalion in Balombo has been blocking the movement of civilians traveling from Lobito to Luimbale.

The people of Dombe Grande are also being prevented from traveling to Benguela or Lobito, both of which are considered UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]-controlled cities. In the face of this problem, the people of Balombo and Dombe Grande have requested that UNITA open local branches to protect them from the MPLA-PT's irresponsible actions.

Luena City FAPLA Forces Remain Armed

MB1708070491 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0515 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, are already in their confinement area in Chicala, Moxico Province. By contrast, a large contingent of People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] continue to carry weapons in Luena city. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister: Peace To Permit Economic Recovery

MB1808075691 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Angolan Prime Minister Fernando Franca van Dunem said in Luanda yesterday that the Angolan people will be able to rehabilitate the economy and resolve their problems if peace becomes permanent in our country. The Angolan prime minister expressed that belief at a ceremony marking the War Veterans Association's sixth anniversary yesterday. Dr. Fernando Franca van Dunem also noted that the Angolan Government has already drawn up plans for greater assistance to war veterans, war cripples, and those demobilized from the Army. He said that all available resources must be carefully managed so that they can also benefit the poorest sections of the Angolan population.

Official Says 807 Mines Disarmed in Uige Province

*MB1708083491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 17 Aug 91*

[Text] A total of 807 mines have been disarmed in Uige Province since the mine removal process began on 7 June. Major Lopes Luis Menano, commander of the Uige military zone, has told the media that mines have been removed from roads between Uige and Negage, Negage and Puri, Puri and Sanza Pombo, Puri and Cangola, Uige and Sumbe, and Uige and Quitexe, thereby allowing for a freer movement of people and goods.

*** Government Studies Current Economic Situation**

*91AF1298A Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese
24 Jul 91 pp 2-4*

[Article by Jonuel Goncalves]

[Text] Luanda—The Angolan government met in council for the first time after the appointment of Franca Van Dunen as prime minister to discuss the serious social problems resulting from the current economic situation.

About 78 percent of the population in Luanda is currently obtaining its supplies on the black market. It is this fact which explains the decision by the Angolan authorities to announce an allocation of \$300 million for the import of foodstuffs this year. On the other hand, the national plan provides for recourse to foreign loans in the amount of \$2 billion for the purchase of consumer goods and raw materials, since shortages of these goods are paralyzing a large part of our industry.

It is believed in economic circles in Luanda that recourse to foreign credit became possible after domestic oil production was guaranteed, with Chevron ([United States of America), ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France]-Aquitaine (France), and AGIP [Italian Petroleum Enterprise] (Italy) as the principal operators. Exports are estimated at 500,000 barrels per day, resulting in income of about \$2.7 billion. The Sonangol [National Angolan Fuel Company], the domestic enterprise, and the obligatory Angolan partner in all the contracts, has in turn signed a protocol with another United States enterprise—Conoco.

Angola's second source of foreign exchange is the diamond sector, but it does not contribute even 3 percent to the total, in all, while crude oil contributes close to 90 percent. Thus there is total dependence on world market prices.

The strike which occurred a week ago at the oil installation in Cabinda has not helped the government plans at all. It is estimated that the losses caused by the strike have already reached a total of about \$30 million.

The help being provided by the coffee sector, which had made Angola, with 200,000 tons, fourth among the world producers, is now feeble, since production has dropped to a little over 10,000 tons at present. Some farmers with whom PUBLICO has talked have indicated interest in recovering their farms, but a return to the production indices of some years ago is out of the question.

More Merchants

In the short run, the more liberal measures announced by the government will encourage the emergence of a stratum of small merchants and transport agents, since the war has made it possible to open up the roads, as well as service enterprises.

On the other hand, if a substantial volume of manufactured products becomes available in the interior, it is foreseeable that the peasantry, which has traditionally owned about 80,000 family farm operations, will abandon the present subsistence farming in order to plant crops yielding surpluses which can be marketed. This would contribute greatly to correcting the great economic distortion in Angola, that is to say the food crisis and the high prices charged for these products on the black market. Increasing and diversifying farm production seem to be the principal factors in balancing prices for the consumer, since foodstuffs constitute a large part of the demand, according to the data which has just been published by the National Statistics Institute of Angola. These figures indicate that the accumulated IPC from December to last June showed an increase of 77 percent, at a time when a number of enterprises are still several months behind in wage payments.

Investment in Infrastructure

Two sectors, however, will have to contribute to the clarification of labor relations—rehabilitation of the infrastructures (destroyed by the war) and a part of the rolling stock and equipment (paralyzed for lack of aid), since large investments in these sectors are expected. The appeals here are addressed basically to foreign enterprise, given the lack of a strong Angolan business capacity. However, foreign investors will act with some caution, awaiting the outcome of the electoral process which is to take place between September and November 1992. For the time being, they will prefer to send delegations to study the situation by means of market studies.

An equally decisive factor will be the resolution of the current social agitation in Angola. This will depend basically on the improvement in food supplies, as the shortcomings here are the reason for the wave of strikes under way in the country. If inflation continues to increase at the rate of the cumulative levels for this half-year, the country would have three-digit inflation by the end of the year, resulting in consequences which can easily be imagined.

It will be recalled that at the ceremony held to install the new Angolan prime minister, President Eduardo dos Santos advocated maintaining the economic policy set forth in the national plan, although with a "more moderate" application. In the opinion of the Angolan president, the recent financial measures, those pertaining to the exchange and devaluation of the currency, in particular, "were unpleasant, but necessary." These measures were to have been supplemented by a second package which would bring the devaluation of the kwanza to 200 percent, but at the beginning of the month, the current prime minister said that a revision of the government's plan of action would be undertaken.

The decision adopted by the government to retain 95 percent of the monetary mass in circulation last September, a little less than a year ago, resolved nothing, in the end. An immediate drop in prices was seen, but shortly afterward, when the payment of wages was resumed, there was a complete reversion to the previous situation, since the shortage of basic products was unchanged, and was even one of the dominant features of the situation.

*** South African, Portuguese Investment Efforts**

91AF1298B Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese
24 Jul 91 pp 2-3

[Article by Jose Gomes Ferreira]

[Text] South Africa is counting on the systematic dispatch of business delegations to Angola to undertake studies in depth of the investment opportunities and to strengthen trade exchange with that country, so that it can compete seriously with Portugal.

This warning was set forth in an interview granted to PUBLICO by Elia Rodrigues, the representative of the Portuguese Foreign Trade Institute (ICEP) in Luanda. She said that "if South Africa were to become successful in supplying various items to Angola, construction materials and food products in particular, Portugal would have a very difficult time competing," although it currently ranks first among Angola's suppliers.

Beginning about eight months ago, South African businessmen have been visiting Angola regularly in small delegations of seven to 10 individuals "really interested in doing business." Meanwhile, Portuguese businessmen have lost no opportunity to do the same, but their methods of approaching the issue may not produce such certain results.

"This year, I have already organized four missions to Angola, each one representing about 30 businesses, and there are plans for another 11 missions," Elia Rodrigues said. The dates are already set and the businessmen's plans confirmed. However, some of these missions may not take place because of the logistics situation (the hotels continue to be completely booked), among other things.

The applications come from business organizations representing several sectors of activity, as well as from specific associations representing the furniture industry, booksellers and publishers, and motorcycle and bicycle merchants, among other industries.

The specific missions are those with the greatest likelihood of success, in the opinion of Elia Rodrigues. "What has happened as a result of the eagerness felt in Portugal is that every single enterprise is applying, and there is a risk that these ventures will deteriorate into excursions."

On the other hand, the business groups include individuals with the widest variety of interests. Some of them only want to sell (a little of everything), others are selling equipment, and still others are civil construction enterprises. There are even, in fact, some with a desire to invest. "These groups should proceed separately," Elia Rodrigues said. The idea is to make a better selection of delegation members there in Portugal.

But the movement will continue to develop, and with a generally welcoming attitude on the Angolan side. "There are many opportunities to be explored, in particular on the level of industrial equipment which is already outdated here in Portugal, but is not obsolete and can be used under proper conditions in Africa."

With the definition of the juridical framework for foreign investments and the establishment of the legal conditions necessary for progress in the privatization process, great expectations were created for economic recovery in Angola. But an industrial structure "cannot be created by decree, and it will take time."

The foreign investment proposals in the industrial sector which have been approved since the publication of the pertinent law can be counted on one's fingers. This is the case with Marmida, a Portuguese enterprise which is already extracting granite from Namibia. Auto-Sueca has just obtained approval for the proposed rebuilding and maintenance of trucks (Volvo). Coca-Cola, as well, has obtained authorization to invest in domestic production.

Generally speaking, the Angolan government is slow in authorizing other investment projects, while the businessmen, on the other hand, are holding back on proposals, at least until the elections are held next year.

There is a great interest in Portugal on the possibility of recovering enterprises within the framework of the program for transfers to the private sector, in which the first steps are now being taken. The former owners are making an increasing number of proposals with a view to resuming their activities. The problem is that there are different juridical situations to be considered. Some enterprises were confiscated, while the government took over others, and still others were nationalized.

The proposals must be made in terms of these different situations. In view of this fact, the ICEP delegation was asked by some former owners to undertake a study of the

current legal status of all of the former Portuguese businesses in Angola, beginning with 1975, with the help of the country's DIÁRIO DA REPÚBLICA. In the end, it did carry out that study on its own initiative. More requests for information are being received every day.

Cooperation or Restored Trade?

A latent question about the business relationship between Portugal and Angola has been raised by Manuel Ennes Ferreira, a professor at the ISE [Higher Institute of Economics]. "Are the domestic economic groups thinking of operating on the Angolan market in order to effect transactions there and to gain access to the neighboring countries, or in order to reestablish some links which previously existed between the economies of Angola and Portugal?"

Manuel Ennes Ferreira, coauthor of the book "Portugal-PALOP [Portuguese-Speaking African Countries]: Economic and Financial Relations," recently published by Escher, believes that there are those who regard the Angolan market as one which can absorb our exports, but also as a source of exports to Portugal of a number of products at good prices."

This would represent the reestablishment of the "old links," and the desire for it is to be found in particular in the agroindustrial sector, according to Antonio Ennes. "Formerly, Portugal imported a great deal of hemp from Angola. This would be an example of the resumption of trade, following the logic of reestablishing the links. I think that in specific sectors, but not generally, there is a desire to effect this recovery."

It is known that some businessmen are relying on Angola to produce general consumer goods for that market and for the region—Zaire, Zambia, and Namibia. "This is true of the Horacio Roque group, which is proposing concepts which will link the economies in southern Africa, and other businessmen, as well."

On the other hand, "we see responsible politicians, for example, stating publicly that a great potential for establishing textile and clothing industries can be seen in Angola. Now, this means taking our obsolete machines and sending them to that country, where they would represent advanced technology. This logic is a way of trying to resolve some problems here. There is the idea in the minds of some politicians that it is possible to resolve the crisis there, to export it to other markets," Manuel Ennes Ferreira said in conclusion.

* Missionaries Report on Conditions in Benguela

91AF1298C Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese
24 Jul 91 p 4

[Article by Joao Dias Miguel]

[Text] Two missionaries have visited the Gamba zone in Benguela, where in just four months, the International Red Cross reported 2,500 deaths from starvation. They

spent some weeks in an Angolan interior region which the United Nations has not visited. They witnessed the horrors of starvation and illness, and "they were afraid, very much afraid."

"Onjala," which in the Umbundo dialect means starvation, was the word the two missionaries heard most frequently when they reached Chimboá, in the Angolan province of Benguela. It is a hamlet of straw huts and beaten earth in which rocks predominate and vegetation is nonexistent. They reached it via mined and dusty roads. They could not believe what they saw when they arrived in the hamlet. They were faced with more than 300 individuals, including old people, orphans, and the disabled, who showed serious symptoms of malnutrition.

Berthold Klein and Telma Fernandes, both Portuguese-German Charitable Association missionaries, left the Lisbon airport at night, bound for Luanda, where they arrived about nine hours later. Almost miraculously, they succeeded that same morning in obtaining a flight which took them to the port of Lobito, from which they went on to Gamba in an old state vehicle.

The distance to Chimboá was 200 km. Along this route, one refuels by pouring gasoline from a can through a funnel. There are booby traps, the remains of burned-out vehicles, and whole columns of rusty, abandoned TIR trucks all along the route. Mine craters and more mines which have not yet been exploded frighten those who pass that way. It took the missionaries seven hours to complete this first land segment of their trip, now that the guerrilla war has ended.

"We were afraid, very much afraid," the still-frightened Telma Fernandes says. "This was a veritable vehicle graveyard, and no one could guess where the next mine was located." For kilometer after kilometer, not a living soul was to be seen as they took detours necessary because of the destroyed bridges.

Aid Entirely Lacking

In the hamlet, the first phenomenon which struck the two was the large number of disabled persons. The war is one reason, but not the major one. The majority of these individuals have had limbs amputated because of a minor wound which was not treated, so that gangrene spread. Then there were the obvious indications of starvation—the stomachs bloated by the water which takes the place of food, the dried-out bodies with bones visible through the skin, the vision problems, the widespread weakness.

The situation is aggravated by the lack of specific programs to serve the areas farthest from the cities, which, the Portuguese-German Association assured us, the major humanitarian aid organizations have not yet reached. The International Red Cross reported 2,500 deaths in Gamba from starvation between February and May alone.

In Chimboa, food is scarce, and it is impossible to buy meat. On the black market in the city of Gamba, only a few kilometers away, this commodity is so valuable that the middlemen usually trade it for something else. During the 17 days of their stay, neither Telma nor Berthold ever saw beef. There is no fresh milk, only canned milk, and it is beyond the reach of the local inhabitants. A can costs \$20 (3 contos), and if a European wants to buy it, the price may be three times that.

"What struck me most was not the hunger, or even the illnesses," Berthold said. "It was the impossibility of growing anything which could resolve the problems in the future. All of the fields are mined." And there was good reason for the missionary to be shocked. On his arrival, he touched the arm of a child who had been refusing to eat for months. He is ill, but there is not a single doctor in Gamba. This touch was enough to make the child cry out in pain. "He was just waiting to die," Telma recalls.

Health is another major problem. The closest hospital, previously capable of accommodate many people, only has two beds now, and they are lacking mattresses and blankets. The roof is gone, and it is impossible to accept patients for treatment. There is no medicine, and the four or five nurses left can only recommend courage and administer some vaccines in syringes which have been used over and over.

Cholera, dysentery, and infections are prevalent almost everywhere. "If you could hear these people cough...." Telma says. "That coughing there is not normal. I think it is tubercular, but without a doctor...." The water for the hamlet is drawn from a spring which looks more like a hole in the mud. Nearby is a garbage dump, and when it rains, everything there washes together.

The recovery programs for the region are at a standstill. Berthold believes that the approaching election is diverting the attention of the parties to "petty politicking."

The Local Diet

The diet available to the residents of the hamlet of Chimboa is poor. "Fungi"—a gruel made of cornmeal ground using traditional methods—is the dietary base. When available, beans or peanuts are added. If it had rained last year, the local diet would have been richer. Bananas, a fruit available throughout the year, is another possible foodstuff. And there are also papaya and sugarcane. It is these items, according to a missionary who has visited there, "which are keeping those people alive," because they are nutritionally very rich. Meat, milk, and other goods of first necessity are nonexistent.

Despite the continuous aid provided by the United Nations and small organizations such as the Portuguese-German Charitable Association, each resident of Chimboa is surviving on only 400 grams of cornmeal and 100 grams of beans a day. This is obviously inadequate since the

minimum monthly requirement per person is 12 kg of cornmeal, with at least beans (3 kg) and vegetable oil (2 liters) in addition.

* Portuguese Minister Examines Investment Climate

91AF1297A Lisbon SEMANARIO
in Portuguese 27 Jul 91 pp 3-4

[Interview with Minister of Trade and Tourism Faria de Oliveira by Rui Pereira; place, date not given]

[Text] The coming of peace to Angola brings to the surface the "ghost" of Portugal's presence in that territory. As the country seeks to rise from the ashes, the Portuguese—and especially those who spent time in Africa—are starting to revive their dream of going back to the land where many of them were born. The businesspeople are on the front line. The country is rich in resources and needs technology and management skills. But everything is not roses. Peace is not yet well established, much less democracy. Faria de Oliveira, minister of trade and tourism, speaks as a man ready to make decisions.

[Pereira] The peace process in Angola has had some reverses. Do you think there is enough political stability for Portuguese investors to invest there?

[Faria de Oliveira] Angola is clearly on the path to stability, optimism, and confidence. Of course, in a process of this nature the path to stability takes some time to travel. However, this step towards peace is a fine indicator for people with an economic role to play. It let us look at Angola as a place where it is important to place a bet on a progressively larger volume of Portuguese investment.

[Pereira] Is it "time to make a move," or is it better to wait until after the elections?

[Faria de Oliveira] It is not up to the government to give directions to those in the economic sphere, businesspeople, that is, on the timing of their decisions. Entrepreneurial risk analysis is strictly their responsibility. However, it is the government's job to create a favorable framework for business activity. At this time we can say there are instruments that support Portuguese business activity and foreign investment. I specifically refer to the ones created by the banking institutions. The Foreign Development Bank last Tuesday announced the doubling of its credit line to support the internationalization of the Portuguese economy. There is also venture capital available from corporations that have already demonstrated a commitment to working with Portuguese companies on investment projects in Angola.

[Pereira] However, you must agree that the government's advice is important to business. What may make it even more important is that you have access to information that business either could not get or could not get easily.

[Faria de Oliveira] Our commitment to participating in the Angolan development process ought to be a firm one. We should not miss opportunities, but our participation should also be prudent. And it should be prudent in the sense of resisting the temptation to rush into a major market on the verge of opening up. We must be aware that Angola is an independent country with the power to make autonomous decisions. There is no doubt whatsoever that Angola will accord special status to its relations with Portugal and Portuguese business because it is in their interests. Our country is a friend of theirs. We have a good knowledge of local affairs, we have the kind of technology they need, and we have management skills that suit their needs. Thus we have incalculable comparative advantages when measured against other competitors. But we must also be prudent. Financial limitations must be considered and so must the need for investment diversification. The countries of the European Economic Community [EEC] as well as countries outside Europe such as the United States become factors in this regard. This is why I think Portuguese business strategies cannot overlook prospects for unilateral or bilateral cooperation. Conditions are very favorable for links to other companies, to other countries in the sense of....

Americans On The Lookout

[Pereira] Such as?

[Faria de Oliveira] It goes without saying the most of the EEC countries look to Portugal as a particularly important partner in the Angolan market. But when I was in the United States recently, I talked to some very prominent people there. They stressed the commitment of American companies to participating with Portuguese companies in investment projects in Angola. I cannot fail to mention the case of the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, who met me at his house. With me were the foreign trade secretary and other members of the Portuguese delegation. He showed the greatest possible interest in cooperation between the U.S. companies he represented and Portuguese companies.

[Pereira] Would the government rather Portuguese companies become associated with companies of greater technical capacities and not act on their own?

[Faria de Oliveira] I am not going to say what I prefer. I think Portuguese companies are well prepared to go their own way in the Angolan market. It is simply a matter of not overlooking a trump card that can be important under many circumstances and ought to be considered. For example, the heavy financial burdens of major investment projects are likely to be amortized more easily in partnership [preceding word in English] with foreign companies.

[Pereira] Is Angola more open to advice that other PALOP [Portuguese-Speaking African Countries] countries?

[Faria de Oliveira] We all know that Angola has much greater potential than the other PALOP countries.

Angola is a very rich country that has been ravaged by war and whose economy has been paralyzed. Its economy must undergo a total reconstruction process from agriculture to factory reconstruction, management, and joint ventures in such industries as cement, paper, steel, and many others. The field open to Portuguese business is vast.

How to Invest

[Pereira] What are the best ways for Portuguese business to get involved?

[Faria de Oliveira] I think the one fundamental way to reinstate Portuguese industrial aid in the PALOP countries is through minority or majority participation in local companies. Others include technical assistance pacts with firms the Angolan government agrees to privatize, technical licensing, contracts for exploration and research, and possible concessions in other areas. Also highly pertinent to such large countries are training and education activities. On the other hand, we have to have some notion of what areas make the most sense. This is obviously up to private initiative although Portugal clearly has a special interest in certain sectors. We cannot forget agriculture, for example, given the tremendous scope of activities associated with the harvesting of coffee, sugar, sisal, cotton, etc.

[Pereira] Does the government anticipate setting up local service companies to support project development or advise Portuguese firms that would otherwise have to provide these services for themselves in Angola?

[Faria de Oliveira] Once again, I think this is an area where the government should not get involved. Businesspeople need to have a clear idea of what to expect. There appear to be some major technical and administrative shortcomings. But these will have to be analyzed case by case.

[Pereira] How is the process of privatization doing in Angola?

[Faria de Oliveira] The indications we have, which come through our contacts with the Angolan finance minister, are that some major privatizations are in the works and may well be announced by now. In this regard, I think the outlook is good for Portuguese private initiative.

[Pereira] Portuguese business associations have taken the initiative here as in no other market. What kind of ties are you maintaining with these organizations?

[Faria de Oliveira] Without doubt. In this case as in others, whenever I go to these countries, I always make it a point to include members of major Portuguese business associations in my delegation. I think their role is most pertinent and should be developed properly. This is particularly true with respect to the information they can bring back for their members and their ability to work with local counterparts.

[Pereira] On the other hand, what does the Angolan government want from the Portuguese government?

[Faria de Oliveira] We maintain close institutional contacts with the government of Angola. We have the best possible relations. There is a clear interest in expanded cooperation with Portugal on the part of agencies on the Angolan side. Such cooperation is clearly limited by our financial capacity and by the possibility of parallel increases in contracts for oil purchases. This is an essential element in the development of trade and aid relations with Angola. Remember that last year the total value of Portuguese exports to Angola came to more than 12.5 million contos.

Cement and Cellulose

[Pereira] What important agreements has Portuguese business signed lately?

[Faria de Oliveira] We are aware of some initiatives by Portuguese businesspeople in Angola. There are some contracts under negotiation, deals for cement and cellulose to be specific. However, there is also activity in other areas ranging from gems and precious metals, to tool and die making, food processing, and packaging.

[Pereira] What companies are involved?

[Faria de Oliveira] Private enterprise is playing such a large role that it would be unfair to mention some companies and leave out others. However, I can say that almost all major Portuguese business groups are investing in Angola. Groups I could mention as examples include Espirito Santo, Tertir, Fnac, Pereira Coutinho, Partex, Atlantico, Pao de Acucar, Amorim, IPE, Entrepoto, Riopole, Interfina, and Marconi. Also included are some government-run enterprises such as Cimpor [expansion not given], EDP [Portuguese Electric Company], and Quimigal [expansion not given]. The tourist industry is also beginning to show an interest in Angola.

[Pereira] Do you think Portuguese business is motivated by any special feelings, or is it strictly trade?

[Faria de Oliveira] If there is any distinction between Portuguese aid and that of other countries, it is an emotional attachment. We feel deep ties to the Angolan people. I myself suspect that this is a characteristic that sets the process of Portuguese decolonization apart from other cases. This is also the reason why we have friendly relations with African countries that have obtained their independence. It is also why countries with Portuguese as their official language began the process of democratization first. This clearly shows how deeply Portuguese values took root in that part of the world. And this evolution is certainly having a profound impact on political, cultural, and economic relations. It is perfectly natural that our business people, who know the area better than others and are bound to it by friendship, have a special commitment. Moreover, the trade opportunities there are excellent.

The Magreb and Eastern Europe

[Pereira] It does not make much sense to produce in Angola and not export. Has the government initiated contacts aimed at assuring a transport fleet capable of handling so much productive capacity?

[Faria de Oliveira] At present a program is under way to develop shipping ties. Its evolution is certain to be driven by market forces. Where maritime shipping is concerned, all the companies involved are now in the private sector. Thus it is private businesspeople who will decide whether routes to the PALOP countries should be expanded or not. However, they can be sure that if they fail to meet an existing demand, others will not. The same holds true for air transport. It is to be expected that TAP [Portuguese Airlines] will try to respond to this market in as rational and profitable a way as possible.

[Pereira] Do you fear that a rush to invest in Angola could leave Portugal's investment capacity a little overextended?

[Faria de Oliveira] No. I have no such fear. Let me say that I consider Angola Portugal's top foreign investment priority but not its only one. Where investment in production is concerned, there are magnificent opportunities in other countries such as those of the Magreb [Northern Africa], the rest of PALOP, and Eastern and Central Europe. We ought to make our move and pursue a strategy of diversification.

[Pereira] By way of summary, do you have a message for Portuguese business?

[Faria de Oliveira] You have to be very alert to take advantage of the opportunities that may develop. Taking advantage of opportunities is what will separate those who succeed from those left by the wayside. I would also suggest that acting in close harmony with the aid secretary and with this ministry will assure that the steps taken are the right ones. This way we can keep from squandering the great opportunities that the future is certain to bring us.

* Businessmen Assess Country's Investment Climate

91AF1297B Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese
27 Jul 91 pp 6-9

[Text] Nothing describes a "state of affairs" better than the opinions of those who are directly involved. SEMANARIO asked several firms three questions about the situation in Angola and Portugal's role in the process under way there. We publish replies from Marconi, Epul, Edifer, Price Waterhouse, FNAC, Esta, and Psi Consultants. One respondent, the Foreign Development Bank, decided to draw up a short balance sheet outlining its participation.

1. Are conditions now ripe for investing in Angola?
2. Should private enterprise or the Portuguese government be the driving force behind the "return" to Angola?

3. In your opinion, how will Portuguese business be able to help develop the Angolan economy?

Sousa de Macedo (Marconi)

1. I do not think there is an absolute yes or no answer to this question. On the one hand, Angola is grappling with major structural problems. Its ability to solve or get over them is fundamental. Strictly as an indicator, keep in mind that the peace process has barely begun. The country has a long and difficult way to go before it can "get rolling" on a normal and stable footing. Its main infrastructure (roads, telecommunications, etc.) are in bad shape. Thousands of men are about to be demobilized. Realistic measures are needed to integrate them back into society before the unemployment situation becomes alarming and creates pockets of more or less longterm marginality. The government's general budget sustains about two thirds of the economy and is massively dependent on petroleum sales. The latter are in turn subject to price fluctuations that are not always favorable. Its monetary policy is badly distorted, and the currency (the kwanza) is nowhere near its real value. What it finally boils down to is the voracity and dominance of the public sector. Its management skills and autonomy are, in many cases, nearly nonexistent.

On the other hand—and this is "the other side of the coin"—we would like Angola to prosper. The country's potential is enormous in sectors as diverse as livestock, farming, and mineral extraction.

It is a petroleum-producing country that is also rich in gold and diamonds. Prior to independence, it had a large and diversified industrial plant.

Angola is a land rich in real and infinite opportunity. It has an urgent need to put its problems and constraints behind it. We think that the only way it can do this in real time is through cooperation with the international financial community. Above all, it must have the help of entrepreneurs who are aware of the risks that remain but believe in the country's future. The individuals involved must proceed on the assumption that before you can reap, you must sow.

2. Although it is very true that everyone has a specific role to play, there is no doubt that private initiative has the lead.

Businesspeople and private initiative shine because they have the vitality and the ability to act as well as the know-how to evaluate risks. They can pick out the best investments and decide how, when, and where to make them.

Without entrepreneurs and private initiative, there is no way to energize the economy of any country enough to spur economic and social development.

The responsibilities of government are, in our opinion, just as—or even more—important. We think they lie in the domain of institutional aid and development. Their

focus is on areas such as cultural affairs, education, disseminating the Portuguese language, training for administrators and independent businesspeople, the military, etc....

Meanwhile, the public sector and especially the government ought to follow the lead of other European countries in providing political orientation for the business community. There is a fundamental need for mechanisms that reduce investment risks and meet the standards of minimally attractive financing.

It is reassuring that we can all benefit from the reputation enjoyed by the government and, above all, by the minister of foreign trade and cooperation. Their prestige extends to most countries whose official language is Portuguese and, most notably, to Angola. It is crucial for the government to create funds to finance aid efforts that allow Portugal to gain competitive advantages over other countries.

3. It is impossible to emerge unscathed from 500 years of history. Leaving aside the question of shared emotional, cultural, and linguistic traits, Portugal and the Portuguese know Angola better than anyone else.

Many regard Angola as their "homeland." The number of them who contributed to the real prosperity and development that Angola once experienced is beyond counting. With the exception of South Africa, it was once the most industrialized country on the continent.

To "reasons of the heart" we can add genuine experience and our inestimable wealth of knowledge about Angola. Portugal can and should play a fundamental part in getting Angola moving again and rekindling economic activities.

Still other advantages are our knack for getting along with others and, above all, the fact that we speak a common language. This gives us a distinct and unmistakable edge in providing the professional training that Angolans must have in order to take an active role in the modernization of their country.

Clearly, all this must be done with due respect for the individuality of both sides and for the political and institutional realities that Angola now embodies.

Hasse Ferreira

1. I think conditions for investing in Angola are becoming more attractive. On the one hand, two wars that lasted 30 years have ended. Together the conflicts represent the painful passage from a dictatorial and colonial regime to the emergence of a multiparty democracy which is now taking shape. The results in terms of safety for persons and property and, hence, of reduced risks for investments are gradually becoming clearer.

Seen from an economic standpoint, Angola is a nation whose industrial and productive capacity is in large part shut down and which has excellent natural resources to draw upon. Thus, it has many kinds of obstacles to

overcome. Of particular importance are its needs to improve the technical qualifications of its work force and to finance and rebuild much of its transportation system (namely, bridges).

2. I think private, government, cooperative, and mixed ventures are all ready to act within their respective sectors. They are in a position to promote the kinds of activities that each deems appropriate within the framework of existing and foreseeable laws. They are capable of responding to existing economic and social conditions and to those that they expect to confront in the future. The Portuguese government can play a decisive role whether through diplomatic channels, its international economic institutions, or its guidance on monetary matters. It can thus make sure that economic considerations do not undermine the cultural, political, and economic integration of Angola into the Portuguese-speaking world.

3. In a great many ways and processes.

This will entail support for professional development and the reconversion of entrepreneurial activity in all areas.

In communications, it means building or rebuilding the necessary infrastructure.

In urban planning, it means supporting the right kind of development with proper emphasis on housing.

In the industrial area, it means helping to reopen factories and/or the creation of companies in a great diversity of sectors.

In the service area, it means supporting creative approaches to the management of existing facilities and realizing potentials for tourism and other nonmanufacturing endeavors.

In public administration at the national and regional levels, it means supporting new, more efficient systems. Dismantling bureaucracies should enable politicians and administrators to act as facilitators of, rather than (inadvertent) obstacles to, development.

Martins Pereira (Price Waterhouse)

1. Investment in general and foreign investment in particular has recently been the subject of special attention on the part of Angolan authorities. They have published specific legislation to address this issue. The dissemination of these laws has taken place in three successive stages: the Economic and Financial Reconciliation Program (SEF); the Economic Activities Law; and the Foreign Investment Law. The latter provides guarantees that protect the investment and the investor. It promises: no government interference with project management; transfer of dividends; repatriation of investments in projects that are sold or liquidated; fair standards for expropriations; and access to domestic credit to finance current accounts spending. In addition, Angola recently became a member of the multilateral Investment Guaranty Agency, and investors will be able to invoke its special joint protection clauses on their own behalf. This leads me to believe that from the standpoint of

legislation and political will, the minimum conditions for investment in Angola have been met. However, we are now seeing a process of consolidation in the political opening of the regime and the reestablishment of peace and domestic order. It is my opinion that special care is still necessary in the evaluation of any investment opportunity.

2. The Portuguese government has a fundamental guiding role to play. Specifically, it must: act with renewed vigor in the political and diplomatic sphere; draft regulations for the export of capital, goods, and services to Angola; and create additional mechanisms to safeguard Portuguese investments and investors. However, I think the success of the "return to Africa" offers incontrovertible proof of the vitality and ability of Portuguese business. It points up the special vocation of the Portuguese to serve with distinction in Africa generally and in Angola in particular.

3. The regulations for the Foreign Investment Law designate priority sectors for foreign investment. They are, among others: production of goods for mass consumption; farming and ranching; fisheries and ocean products; light industry; civil engineering; and mining. The experience of Portuguese firms—including experience in Angola—in these areas seems to me beyond question. Portuguese participation should thus be planned with a view towards ventures that are mutually profitable and beneficial. It can take the form of services (with specific reference to our recent experience with privatization), export capital, and basic equipment and technology. It can range from help in creating markets driven by supply and demand to the training of Angolans. It can extend to the physical presence of the Portuguese themselves in Angola and of the enterprising spirit they have always displayed.

Daniel Amaral (Fnacinveste)

1. It is clear that conditions improved following the signing of the peace agreement. It remains to be seen if the prospects it raised will become reality. I sincerely hope they will.

In any case, I think those who wish to position themselves for the future ought to begin analyzing the investment possibilities right away.

2. Frankly, I dislike the term "return to Africa." Instead of returning, it is a matter of reinforcing ties that never ceased to exist. The truth is that Portugal and the PALOP [Portuguese-Speaking African Countries] countries have always done business together even while certain political rhetoric indicated otherwise. In my opinion, private companies will be the main driving force behind investment in Africa. It will be up to the Portuguese government to improve the conditions under which these investments take place.

3. All projects that involve reactivating Angola's productive capacity represent avenues for development. Foremost in this regard is the rehabilitation of its buildings inventory. This will breathe new life into civil construction as well as sectors undergoing expansion and contraction. The possibilities for manufacturing projects using local raw materials are also enormous.

Luis Filipe (Edifer)

1. "With the coming of the peace accords, conditions for investing in Angola improved substantially. By 1990, the Gestifer Group had adopted a policy of renewed investment in PALOP countries. An example of this shift is our participation in Hemo Africa, ACE [expansion not given], in Angola and the establishment of a mixed venture, Edicrel [expansion not given], in Mozambique. Meanwhile, some factors continue to indicate the wisdom of moderation.

2. "The Portuguese government has made a noteworthy effort to improve and expand political and economic relations between the two countries. This has naturally led to greater confidence on the part of Portuguese business. Meanwhile, Portuguese companies have not received the (financial) aid they need for ventures they are in a position to carry out successfully. We have stood by as companies from Spain, France, Italy, etc. have moved in with strong backing from their respective governments. They are swallowing up a large number of projects in the absence of Portuguese competition.

3. "Efforts towards peace and political normalization must be accompanied by economic development in Angola. Technology and knowledge transfers, job creation, and profitable use of natural resources are among the natural outgrowths of increased investment. It is necessary to create development conditions that result in better living conditions for Angolans. There are strong ties between the two countries that stem from centuries of shared history. Portuguese companies could play an important role based on a common language and the fact that the Angolan industrial structure is modelled after the one left by the Portuguese. Portuguese business must realize that profits on an undertaking of this sort may not be immediate, and the Portuguese government must support those who wish to invest. Projects must be concrete, feasible, and untainted by false hope. Under these conditions, I am sure that Portugal can play an important role in the future of Angola."

[Quotes around the Filipe remarks are as published]

Carlos Beja (ESTA [Hotel Management, Inc.])

1. ESTA has been in Angola since 1985, and the volume of its business there has grown steadily. In 1990, the increase was considerable.

Our motto in Angola is to serve with the aim and expectation of doing a quality job.

Angola is a market with great potential, and it is now open to anyone not on the prowl for quick and easy profits. It is open to those interested in playing an effective part in transforming the country into a major economic power.

2. This is essentially a job for private enterprise although it must not be forgotten that the Portuguese government has an historic duty to demand respect for the sovereignty of both countries.

Cooperation should be useful to both sides. Given their ability to get along with people everywhere and the past they share with the Angolans, the Portuguese are in a privileged position when it comes to development.

3. Participation in the Angolan economic development effort should be forward-looking, and it should respect the laws of the Angolan government.

If cooperation implies technology transfer, then it also implies the training of Angolan personnel.

It is entirely true that a very large economic space has opened up. It includes a market of great potential. It is to be expected that it will undergo large-scale development.

David Franklin (Psiconsultores)

1. To answer your question, I think it is important to distinguish between open political conditions and technical and material conditions. I regard the evidence of political opening as very clear. The same cannot be said concerning the technical and material situation which remains a major constraint for the time being.

My information comes solely from recent contacts in Luanda with people in positions of responsibility in many areas. They are people in government, multinational, and private agencies who work, as I do, in the consulting and training field. I have been struck by the immense need for investment and joint efforts to get the Angolan economy moving.

On the one hand, most Angolans lived and felt the effects of the recent Bicesse accords in a very intense way. On the other, as expressions of immense relief and euphoria died down, people began to look hard at reality. The need arose to start finding answers to immediate problems. There was a need for understanding between the two sides and a need for time to heal the wounds from a 16-year war. In addition, there is unanimous agreement on the need to rebuild the country.

I think the opening and the need for outside support are self-evident. However, present technical and material conditions strike me as rather precarious from an investment standpoint. This is hardly a surprise in light of how little time has passed since the signing of the accords.

The economic mechanisms rooted in the parallel market must be overcome as must the administrative and bureaucratic barriers to management based on the timely and rapid solution of problems. Something must be done

about the weakened state of the existing infrastructure. Once these matters are dealt with, it is reasonable to believe that investors will have the space and means they require.

The truth is that it is not now easy to get around the bureaucracy and come up with the means necessary to get a project under way given the damage done to existing structures by 16 years of war.

It is to be expected that in the short term all these impediments will be dispensed with in order to provide investors with the space and the conditions they clearly must have to undertake their projects.

2. The Portuguese government did what it had to do. It provided an important push towards the establishment of peace and the strengthening Portuguese prestige and credibility in Angola.

Clearly, it must not shrink from continuing to help Portuguese business overcome the difficulties that quite naturally develop during a process of change as profound as the one under way in Angola. In my view, Portuguese business is most concerned with avoiding unexpected problems. There can be no aid or investment unless there are relations between governments. The more objective these relations become and, above all, the more they help get administrative and bureaucratic obstacles out of the way, the better.

In this sense, I think Portuguese businesspeople—in concert with a new entrepreneurial class in Angola—are the ones who will experience the “return.” In many cases, people will be driven by the urge to go back to the land where they were born and will be challenged by the enormous potential of an Angola that is rich and is being rebuilt.

In all likelihood, Angola will in the very near future represent a privileged opportunity for the Portuguese businessperson. It will also be an opportunity for managers. Specialized administrators and technicians will have the chance to put their knowledge to profitable use. The results will be good for them and for the Angolan economy.

3. Portuguese firms can contribute in many ways. At the moment, I think it is generally the case that whatever aid helps rebuild infrastructure, supports reconstruction or repair of buildings, gets factories open, or does anything else is welcome. Angola’s rulers and its budding entrepreneurial class want help.

Whatever guidelines and strategy priorities it sets for rebuilding and developing the Angolan economy, I think the government will need—and try very hard to get—management and technical training. It will seek modern technologies and organizational techniques and ask that they be supplied together with the equipment needed to provide goods and services. There will be particular emphasis on upgrading human resources.

It seems to me a matter of helping first to create the conditions without which normal life is impossible. Then—while continuing to do this—we can cooperate in developing professional, technical, and management skills. Angolan business and administrative personnel can thus learn to use modern technologies and help the companies they work for develop.

Angolan professionals with credentials from Angola itself or from other countries feel the need to recycle their knowledge. They want to be able to respond more effectively to the enormous challenges that await them. They want to be able to gain adequate control of the evolution and development that every Angolan wishes to see.

It seems clear to me that this rapid change in the economic and social dynamic of Angola can only occur with specialized management and technical support. The faster the change can be made, the more it will appeal to Angolans. The need is to solve concrete existing problems while at the same time preparing the human and technical means for the future satisfaction of aspirations that have been frustrated for so many years.

Foreign Development Bank

The Luanda office of the Foreign Development Bank [BFE]—the only Portuguese bank with a permanent presence in the RPA [People’s Republic of Angola]—has been hard at work since June 1990. It has focused on the support of imports and exports and the promotion of direct investment. It has made an effective contribution to expanded trade and aid relations between the two countries.

The credit line extended to Angola by BFE at the end of its first year of activity in the country totalled \$140 million. This included \$60 million in medium and long-term financing and \$80 million for short-term operations. The bank made these loans either under agreements between the central banks of both countries or under the export credit system. The credits went to several different sectors with special emphasis on construction and public works, hotels and tourism, and infrastructure.

With its new foreign trade mission added to its traditional role as a development bank, BFE—the leader of a major Portuguese financial group—has also promoted several technical aid and assistance pacts. These have taken the form of training for personnel of the National Bank of Angola and the RPA Foreign Investment Ministry.

BFE has also promoted and organized trips to Angola by Portuguese businesspeople. It has done so as part of its systematic information activities or in support of investors who either do, or wish to do, business in the RPA. It has provided information on investment laws and available financing to stimulate new businesses, rehabilitate existing factories, and foster ties between Portuguese and Angolan firms.

At a particularly decisive moment in the revival of the Angolan economy, the Foreign Development Bank is preparing to expand its activities in that country. Plans call for the strengthening of its technical and financial capacity in support of bilateral trade. BFE awaits permission to convert its Luanda office into a branch or, in the alternative, to seek other forms of participation in Angola's emerging financial system.

Mozambique

Frelimo Congress Proceedings Resume 14 Aug

MB1408121191 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] The proceedings of the sixth Mozambique Liberation Front's [Frelimo] congress resumed this morning with the delegates debating the Central Committee report. The report from the commission of mandates, which was yesterday submitted to the delegates for voting, indicates that out of the 720 delegates scheduled to attend the congress, only 692 were present. The document states that most of the delegates consist of artisans, party workers, state institutions workers, peasants, and proletarians. A total of 213 Mozambican invited guests are also attending the Frelimo congress.

Constitutional Reforms Highlighted

MB1408125791 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] The proceedings of the Sixth Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Congress continue in Maputo with debates on the Central Committee report. The report, which is scheduled to be approved today, says that the party's initiative and responsibility in drafting the constitutional proposals and enriching it with the contributions from the debates at grass roots levels as well as approving the final text of the draft document was a far-reaching task carried out by the Central Committee. The report adds that in the context of the revision of the Constitution, the Central Committee made decisions of historic importance to democracy, namely the adoption of the multiparty system and the political definition of the draft laws on political parties and on elections.

Report, Statutes Discussed

MB1408155691 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] The proceedings of the Sixth Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Congress are continuing in Maputo this afternoon with the presentation of a proposal concerning the party's new statutes and discussions on the Central Committee report read by President Joaquim Chissano on 12 August. The need to continue ongoing efforts to end the war has been the main thrust of the delegates' views during discussions of the Central Committee report.

Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, Frelimo Party Central Committee member and congress spokesman, said that this morning 25 delegates discussed the report and issues in the life of the party. A total of 60 delegates had had their names down to address the congress.

Delegations Support Congress Goals

MB1708084491 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] The proceedings of the Sixth Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Congress continued today with discussions on the proposed party program. A large Organization of Mozambique Women, OMM, delegation also saluted the sixth congress with messages, songs, and gifts. In its message, the OMM hails political change in Mozambique under the Frelimo Party's courageous and wise leadership. The OMM also called on the government to continue its peace efforts, and it urged Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] to listen to the demands for peace by the people in general and Mozambican women in particular.

President Joaquim Chissano said that the Frelimo Party is happy because it feels that it continues to respond to the needs of the people in general and of women in particular.

A representative of the Mozambique Youth Organization, OJM, also presented his organization's message stating its support for the Frelimo Party and its slogan: peace, justice, and progress. The OJM also saluted change in the country and the fact that the Frelimo Party has recognized its errors in its Central Committee report to the sixth congress. The OJM's message states that that organization intends to maintain its privileged relationship with the Frelimo Party.

President Joaquim Chissano said that the Frelimo Party was happy to see that a large part of the youth supports Frelimo.

Delegates Debate Draft Program

MB1708163091 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] The proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] continued today. Delegates have been debating the Frelimo Party draft program. Congress spokesman Pascoal Mocumbi said the delegates have been airing their views on the health sector, with most of them favoring the consolidation of the national health services and the extension of medical care to the less privileged people.

Also today, a group of 450 children from different primary schools in Maputo City saluted the congress. In their message read on the occasion, the followers of the Mozambican revolution called for peace and normalization of life in the country. A message from the Independent Congress of Mozambique, an emerging political

party, was also read on the occasion. The Mozambique Islamic Congress also saluted the Frelimo congress.

Secret Ballot Elections Noted

*MB1708194891 Maputo Radio Maputo in English
1800 GMT 17 Aug 91*

[Text] The Sixth Congress of Mozambique's ruling Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party is continuing in Maputo. The public attention is increasingly focusing on the election of a new party leadership. For the first time in Frelimo's history, the Central Committee will be elected by a secret ballot. All party members would be free to support candidates, including themselves. In the past, voting has been by a show of hands after discussion of a single list presented by the outgoing Central Committee.

Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi who is acting as spokesperson for the congress, said today that lists of candidates would be displayed in the congress hall for the knowledge of all delegates 48 hours before the vote is taken. The congress is due to end on Tuesday. Another innovation of this congress will be the election of general secretary to head the secretariat which will oversee the running of Frelimo's day to day affairs.

Guebuza Examines Rome Peace Talks 15 August

*MB1508182891 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 15 Aug 91*

[Text] Armando Guebuza, the leader of the Mozambican Government delegation to the Rome peace talks, today discussed the Mozambican peace process. At a news conference with national and foreign journalists, outside the proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the Mozambique Liberation Front Party in Maputo, Armando Guebuza was asked whether the suspension of the Rome peace talks was an impasse or a normal break. In reply, Guebuza said it was just a break to permit the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] to consider the proposals.

[Begin Guebuza recording] This break is aimed at permitting Renamo to consider some very essential issues. We believe that friendly countries and international organizations will help Renamo recognize that Mozambique is a state with a government, laws, and institutions, which cannot be ignored but must be recognized right from the start. [end recording]

Renamo proposed the suspension of talks until the end of Frelimo's Sixth Congress. Asked if there are any links between the talks and the congress, Guebuza said:

[Begin recording] During the negotiations Renamo felt that the talks should be suspended so that the Mozambican Government delegation could attend the congress. We made it clear to Renamo that that was not a problem as far as we are concerned inasmuch as we had gone to

Rome prepared to miss the congress. Accordingly, the congress would not have interfered with the Rome peace talks. [end recording]

A journalist wanted to know the meaning of a privileged status for Renamo as contained in the document of mediators approved by the Mozambican Government. Guebuza explained:

[Begin recording] This means that as soon as Renamo ceases violence, as soon as it signs the cease-fire agreement, and even before its registration, it can begin its political activities in the country. [end recording]

Comments on Portuguese Lobby

*MB1508200291 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 15 Aug 91*

[Text] Transportation and Communications Minister Armando Guebuza has said he is aware of a Portuguese lobby [preceding word in English] aimed at changing the venue of peace talks from Rome to Lisbon. Speaking at a news conference with journalists outside the proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the Mozambique Liberation Front Party, Guebuza declined to cite names or make further comments on the lobby. He said the government is ready to accept a process similar to that of Angola and described as unacceptable the Mozambique National Resistance's plan to entrust the country's sovereignty on the United Nations during the transitional period.

Minister Alleges RSA Still Helping Renamo

*MB1508193891 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 15 Aug 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The continuing failures of the peace talks in Rome between the Mozambique Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels have been somewhat perplexing. It always seems to be two steps forward and three steps back, while in Mozambique itself, Renamo rebels continue to wreak havoc in repeated raids and attacks.

The latest round of talks stalled at the weekend and today the Mozambique Government chief negotiator has been giving his explanation of the deadlock and he has pointed a finger at continuing support for Renamo from South Africa, as Ian Christie reports from Maputo.

[Begin Christie recording] Mozambique's Transport Minister Armando Guebuza, who has been negotiating with Renamo in Rome for more than a year, told journalists in Maputo that South African support was still reaching the rebels despite the Nkomati nonaggression agreement between the Mozambican and South African Governments in 1984. He said it was probable that this was having an impact on the Rome peace talks because as long as there were forces inside South Africa

who continued to support Renamo, then Renamo would persist in adopting what he called inflexible attitudes.

Mr. Guebuza, who was answering questions on the reasons for the suspension of the Rome talks last weekend, did not blame the Pretoria government directly. But he said that recent allegations by disenchanted members of the South African Defense Force that logistical support is still being supplied to Renamo, should make the authorities in Pretoria grasp the seriousness of the situation.

He added that in his opinion, South Africa should now take the opportunity to apply its side of the Nkomati agreement. Now that it was clear that violations of the agreement were happening, Guebuza said, the South African Government should take measures against those sectors responsible. He did not say which sectors he was referring to, but much of the recent flurry of accusations from within South Africa has pointed to the Armed Forces, responsible until recently to former Defense Minister Magnus Malan. [end recording]

Foreign Minister on Gorbachev's 'Downfall'

MB1908110491 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1055 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Report from Hall of Congresses by correspondent Emilio Manhique]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Foreign Affairs Minister Pascoal Mocumbi has made a brief statement on the downfall of former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. He said that this is a domestic affair of that country, adding that he expected that the event would not change the existing relations between Mozambique and the USSR. Mocumbi said that he also expected that the Soviet people will be able to democratically strengthen their institutions, unity, and territorial integrity, as well as the sovereignty of their state.

Military Leaders Not To Head Political Parties

MB1708172691 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English 1500 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi says that under the new multiparty political system, serving military officers cannot also be leaders of political parties. Mr. Mocumbi said all branches of the ruling Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party in the Armed Forces were to be disbanded and that no political activity will be allowed in the Army.

Chibuto District Under 'Strong' Renamo Influence

MB1708112691 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Some 80 percent of Gaza Province's Chibuto District is under strong Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] armed bandit influence. The Frelimo Party Chibuto District Committee secretary for the economy

and production has said that instability in the district's four administrative areas has caused a reduction in supplies to the population. He explained that land links between Chibuto town and the administrative posts of Alto Changane, Chipaja, and Chaimite have been cut over the last two years.

*** Red Cross Assists 300,000 People in Gaza**

91AF1305A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 19 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] In the last three years, the provincial delegacy of the Mozambican Red Cross [CVM] in Gaza has assisted more than 300,000 people in various zones of the province. Inacio Novela, secretary of this humanitarian organization in Gaza Province, told our correspondent in Xai-Xai that most of the aid recipients came from drought areas or from areas controlled by the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], where they had been living under force.

Inacio Novela said the aid was primarily in the form of clothing, farm implements, seed, food products, and household utensils, among other donations.

Speaking on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the CVM, the official also reported that from last year to date, his delegacy's search and inquiry section, which traces people who have disappeared because of the war or for other reasons, had located nine individuals who had been separated from their families.

They were primarily children who had been abducted by Renamo in various regions of the province and were later found in the zones of Chicugo, Mabalane, and Chicualacuala; they are now living with their families in Mandlakaze District.

Regarding the work that the CVM is doing in Gaza to educate citizens in the battle against AIDS, Inacio Novela said that, with the assistance of the Swedish Red Cross, the CVM has so far trained 44 activists, who have been engaged in positive efforts in the districts.

"Meanwhile, we intend to increase the number of these activists so that their work will have more impact among the people and we will achieve greater coverage in the districts of the province," Secretary Novela said.

He also talked about the role of the Red Cross in mobilizing citizens to be blood donors in Gaza. In this regard, he reported that the blood transfusion center in the Provincial Hospital of Gaza is using equipment acquired through trilateral cooperation between the Mozambican Health Ministry, the CVM, and the Swiss Red Cross.

The secretary of the CVM in Gaza also reported that last year his organization had promoted a big campaign to mobilize the citizens of Xai-Xai to donate their own blood to save many lives, since at that time the local provincial hospital was struggling with a serious shortage of blood.

"This action is already having positive results," Inacio Novela declared. He emphasized the role of some local businessmen who offer assistance to the kitchen at the blood transfusion center. They include Mr. Abdul Bachir Calu, who contributes one whole beef every month, warehouseman Natu Harelal, who supplies grocery products, and the Casa Assa, which donates fish.

"In the last three years, we have been able to recruit more than 4,000 blood donors, which we consider a really good result," said the secretary of the Red Cross in Gaza Province.

*** Inhambane Population Being Reintegrated**

91AF1306B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
19 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] Francisco Joao Pateguana, governor of Inhambane Province, announced on Friday that, in some districts in that region of the country, trails are being reopened and people liberated from the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] encampments are being resettled, as a result of the improvement in the military situation.

Presenting a report by the provincial government of Inhambane to the ninth session of the Provincial Assembly, which met recently in the province capital, Francisco Joao Pateguana said that trails are being reopened and people are being resettled in the districts of Panda, Homoine, Inharime, Morrumbene, Massinga, Funhalouro, Mabote, Vilankulo, and Jangamo.

The ninth session of the Provincial Assembly of Inhambane was convened to take an accounting of the activities conducted by its Permanent Commission since the previous session and to hear a report by the provincial government on the strategy for the distribution of land, the current situation regarding the use of abandoned property in some districts, and the development of the Emergency Program in the last year, and also to evaluate and approve the plan and program of the Provincial Assembly for this year.

Speaking about the political-military situation, the governor of Inhambane said that in the last seven months the Armed Forces of Mozambique had conducted an operation to destroy the encampments of armed groups of the Renamo, to enable the economic agents and the general public to carry on their activities—particularly farming, transport, and the distribution of various merchandise and products for domestic consumption and for export—in relative security.

"As a means of bolstering these victories," said Governor Pateguana, "the provincial government has taken measures to get the people more involved in the system of territorial defense and security, so as to reduce the number of militiamen stationed here and thus alleviate the problems with supplies, uniforms, transportation, and food for these men."

He added that, with respect to Compulsory Military Service [SMO], thousands of young people had reported to the registration centers, but he appealed to the deputies to educate the youths and their parents regarding the need to comply with the SMO.

The governor of Inhambane referred to the situation at some control posts where, despite measures taken by the provincial government, "inappropriate treatment of citizens who circulate from one place to another continues to be observed."

In his report to the Inhambane Provincial Assembly, Governor Pateguana spoke of the work that is being conducted in the sectors of agriculture, construction and waters, industry and energy, commerce, education, transportation and communications, emergency efforts, and health.

Regarding this last sector, the governor of Inhambane said that, in addition to the rehabilitation of the provincial hospital and the rural hospital of Chicue, in the first seven months of this year 13,484 children from birth to 23 months had been vaccinated against tuberculosis and another 12,222 had been vaccinated against measles.

During the same period, 10,771 children in Inhambane were vaccinated against diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus.

Emergency

Recent data indicate that there are 79,982 war refugees in Inhambane, mainly in the major urban centers and in villages, and 135,466 people affected by the war, who are struggling with the shortage of land for agriculture and of potable water, poor health and education services, and hunger. To assist these people, the provincial government would need millions of tons of corn, legumes, cooking oil, and clothing every year, which, given the present conditions in the country, is an unthinkable amount.

According to Governor Pateguana, the government strategy in this area is to give priority in the distribution of land to the people who have been liberated from the Renamo camps, and to encourage more nongovernmental organizations and Mozambican businessmen to provide more support, primarily in the area of small industry devoted to food, production of articles for household use, fishing, and freight and passenger transport.

"Meanwhile," the governor said, "we are taking action to bring in more revenue, by leasing out the trucks of the Provincial Department for Prevention of and Combat Against Natural Disasters and, with the people's participation, by selling wood, charcoal, stakes, stones, and other merchandise in the urban centers, with the profits reverting to the local emergency fund."

*** Food Situation Critical for 40,000 in Guro***91AF1305C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
24 Jul 91 p 3*

[Text] Nearly 40,000 people residing in Guro District, in northern Manica Province, will need emergency food aid to overcome the severe effects of the drought that has already reduced the harvest from the current agricultural campaign by 50 percent.

In statements to the Beira newspaper DIARIO DE NOTICIAS, District Administrator Costa Francisco Chale said that currently, in addition to 1,091 returnees who were liberated from the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] bases and are completely dependent on free food aid, the food situation of 6,533 individuals who have been affected and displaced by the war is considered equally critical.

The newspaper cites the same source as stating that the DPCCN [Department for Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters] and the "Redd Barne" in Guro will purchase 170 tons of corn from the Agricom [Agricultural Products Marketing Company], equal to 50 percent of what was marketed last year, to meet the district's food needs in the coming months.

Again citing Administrator Chale, the DIARIO DE NOTICIAS adds that, despite the fact that there are 10 farmers and thousands of peasants in Guro, the shortage of rainfall in the last agricultural campaign will mean that by August the entire population of the district, about 40,000 inhabitants, will need emergency food aid.

In the current agricultural campaign, for example, the rain only began to fall with some regularity in that district in January, after the local farmers and peasants had lost three successive plantings.

State of Alert

Citing a recent nutritional survey, the Guro district administrator described the current food situation of the local population as being in a "state of alert," because the 5,442 people displaced by the war are already suffering from malnutrition. [figure as published]

According to Chale, the attempts to introduce some drought-resistant crops in the district failed, owing, above all, to the shortage of manioc slips and sweet potato sprouts.

With regard to vegetables, the drought has created problems with soil erosion in all the low zones.

In Guro District, the emergency situation worsened at the beginning of this year, when the Renamo began to abduct peasants from their native areas, which led huge numbers of people to flock to the district seat. For the same reason, more than 2,800 people from the administrative post of Nhamassanje, also in Guro, have taken refuge in the district seat of Changara, in Tete Province.

*** New Party Holds Conference, Spells Plans***91AF1305D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
22 Jul 91 p 1*

[Text] With the introduction of the multiparty system in the country, a new political party has emerged. The Democratic Party of Mozambique (Pademo) was publicly presented on Saturday in a press conference in which it announced its objectives and ideals. Among other objectives, it is in opposition to any type of division, suffering, and misery and is in favor of national unity based on federalism.

The Pademo declares that it will make a positive contribution to the solution of the economic, political, and educational problems that are devastating the country and says it is prepared to work with the party in power to achieve these ideals. It condemns all tribal and regional tendencies that threaten national unity, but it advocates development based on federalism. It values the cultural expression of all the Mozambican people, as well as education, and defends agriculture as the basis for development, while it advocates the encouragement of small-scale industry. It promotes the practice of all types of business and freedom of religious faith.

The party leadership is composed of 10 members from all the provinces. Its coordinator is Wehia Monakacho Ripua. A native of Niassa, Ripua received his law degree in Romania. He is an official of the Foreign Affairs Ministry and is a former member of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party (until 1990).

The party's ideology is not yet known; it has been the object of discussion within the party, but, according to Wehia Ripua, the ideology must be consistent with Mozambican reality. The party currently has 28,000 members nationwide and hopes to hold its first party congress as soon as the Mozambican Government and the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] conclude their negotiations and reach a consensus.

Asked why he left the Frelimo Party, Wehia Ripua said he was dissatisfied with the way the Frelimo Party had governed since the transition government, which he said was characterized by dictatorship and "vitalicismo" [? self-perpetuation].

"I could not speak out. I decided to make my contribution to the nation by creating another party," Ripua said.

The Pademo coordinator said that what distinguishes his party from the Frelimo is its national character, adding that whereas the Frelimo tends toward regionalism in governing the country, the Pademo will be based on the national unity of all the Mozambican people, based on the principle of federalism.

Asked if the Pademo could come to form a coalition with other parties for the legislative elections, Wehia Ripua said it would depend on the philosophy of each party, but he said the Pademo could form a coalition with any other party that might emerge in the future.

Asked if the Pademo knew of the existence of political prisoners held by the Frelimo, Ripua said that the Frelimo would know more about this matter than his party would.

The Pademo coordinator said he did not agree with the Law of the Parties because "they were the ones who wrote it, but what can you do?"

The Pademo condemns the Renamo's killing of civilians, but declares that its nonparticipation in the free elections will mean that the Frelimo condones the suffering of the Mozambican people.

* **Zambia: New Emergency Aid Plans Outlined**

91AF1305E Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
18 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] Last Friday in Quelimane, the governor of Zambia Province outlined a new strategy for emergency aid operations, since, in his opinion, the emergency situation is characterized by the migration of people to their native areas, dictating a "decentralization of means," which up to now have been concentrated in the province capital.

Speaking at the seventh session of the Provincial Council of the government, Carlos Agostinho de Rosario said that the measure was "a consequence of the retaking of the administrative posts and localities that had previously been under the control of the armed bandits, resulting in the improved security situation."

According to the governor, the districts should be prepared to intervene to deal with the situation prevailing in their regions, which implies "providing them with the means to this end."

His observation had reference to the regions of Derre and Mocubela, located, respectively, in the districts of Morrumbala and Maganja da Costa, which were visited very recently by the governor of Zambia Province.

Mocumbela, with about 35,000 inhabitants, was liberated from Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] control in May 1990, and Derre, with approximately the same population, was liberated in June of this year.

The situation in these two regions of Zambia is considered critical; their people lack any means of subsistence and their infrastructures have been destroyed by the armed bandits. Since they were liberated from the criminals they have not benefited from any plan of action whatever, either with regard to emergency food and health assistance or with regard to construction and integrated development.

The seventh session of the Provincial Council of the government of Zambia also concluded that the state of emergency is worsening "at a time when the means to deal with the situation are limited."

A report presented to the members of that body notes that the famine and the resulting malnutrition are also occurring in Lugela District, in the localities and administrative posts of Morrua, Luabo, Mulevala, Uape, Quane, and Mulemba, which are considered critical.

Meanwhile, the Provincial Council praised the work conducted by the DPCCN [Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters] in Zambia. In view of the prevailing situation, the DPCCN mobilized the means to get emergency aid to the people in those zones, although there are still problems with areas that are inaccessible by road.

A report presented on that occasion by the director of the DPCCN to the Council members revealed that 10 plane-loads of provisions had been flown into Derre and a supply convoy had gone to Mocubela.

There have also been supply convoys to Lugela and Mulevala and a failed attempt to reach Luabo with supplies. In that region, the supplies did not reach their destination because the two boats involved in the operation ran aground in the Zambeze River, a situation that has not yet been resolved.

During the meeting, Carlos Agostinho do Rosario made some observations regarding what he called isolated cases of administrative errors by his government. Alluding to weakness and laxity, he appealed for stronger coordination among sectors and for greater dynamism in the sector of Construction and Waters, which is moving very slowly on the rehabilitation of infrastructures.

* **Refugees From Malawi Returning to Tete**

91AF1305F Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
18 Jul 91 p 8

[Article by Talbo Mucobora]

[Text] A monthly average of 200 Mozambican refugees in Malawi return on their own initiative to Angonia, Tete Province. Pedro Januario, delegate of the DPCCN [Department for Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters] in that district, recently told our reporter that, despite the efforts of the department which he directs and of the UN High Commission for Refugees, the assistance provided (food, clothing, household utensils, and farm implements) to these returnees, whose number has been increasing in recent months, is insufficient.

The suspension of organized repatriation has not stopped the Mozambicans from returning to their native land.

In their desire to return to their country, the refugees "bypass" the entire bureaucratic route, which entails registering and then waiting for special transportation. They grab their bags and start walking the 20 km to the town of Ulongue.

They cross the border freely. No documents are required, our reporter learned.

When they arrive in Ulongue, the refugees are received by the District Emergency Committee, registered at the administrative post of Angonia, and assigned to the Caboa II accommodation center, 5 km from the town of Ulongue, where they are given land on which to build houses and start farm plots.

According to DPCCN district delegate Pedro Januario, the first action is to distribute the materials that are essential to take up their social and economic life again, namely, food, clothing, blankets, household utensils, and farm implements.

"At this time we are experiencing a critical shortage of the items that we normally distribute, because the suspension of the convoys on the so-called Tete Corridor has affected us immensely. There are people who have arrived recently and have not yet received food or blankets, who are now suffering from hunger and the cold," Pedro Januario lamented. "But we are hopeful because we have been in contact with Tete and they tell us that our trucks left yesterday in a convoy. Maybe they will arrive tomorrow."

Actually, the corn and beans that the DPCCN receives comes from Zimbabwe to Blantyre by way of the Tete Corridor, and from there they are transported to Angonia.

Malawi Impedes Return of Refugees

Our reporter learned that there are many people in Malawi who want to return to Mozambique. As of the end of last month, 6,000 people had registered and were awaiting organized repatriation.

According to the DPCCN delegate, reports reaching here through the refugees who have returned on their own initiative indicate that the Government of Malawi is urging the Mozambicans in the accommodation camps there not to return to their homeland, alleging that the war and the famine are getting worse. It happens, however, that despite this false propaganda, which is deliberate and probably has some purpose (it has already been said and written that, from all indications, Malawi is profiting from the presence of the Mozambican refugees in its territory), the refugees are continuing to return home.

According to the DPCCN delegate, just from January to June of this year, 831 people, constituting 167 families, have returned to Angonia on their own initiative.

What the Returnees Are Saying

During his stay in Angonia, our reporter went to the Caboa II accommodation center, where he spoke with some refugees.

Many of them said that although food was distributed twice a month in Malawi, they preferred to live in Mozambique because, in addition to being in their own country, there was land to cultivate.

Malson Djiya, who was found building his thatched hut, said: "I arrived here at the end of June. I was well received. They gave me corn, beans, salt, sugar, a blanket, pots, dishes, an axe, and many other things. I have a farm plot here. In Malawi I did not have a farm plot because there was no land to cultivate."

For her part, Olipha Klakson said that although she is receiving food only once a month in Angonia, and not twice a month as she did in Malawi, "it is good to live in my own country because it is bad just to wait around to receive food and not do any work." This citizen stressed that if you want to leave Malawi you have to cover your ears because, as she said, "the government told us: 'If you return to your country you will die because of the war and the famine,' but when I got here, I saw that things are not as they were describing them there"

In Caboa II, one can see many people who have come from Malawi to "look over" the situation, to see how their comrades are living.

This was the case with Zepeta Chicondeus, who said: "I came to see how things are here. But it seems that it is pretty peaceful. I am going to tell my two sons to come here and build houses."

Another aspect that impressed our reporter was the spirit of cooperation among these refugees.

They all help each other build their houses, start their farm plots, and perform other tasks.

Guinea-Bissau

Opposition Meeting Dispersed by Security Forces

AB1708163091 Paris AFP in French 1100 GMT
15 Aug 91

[Text] Bissau, 15 Aug (AFP)—Yesterday the national security forces (political police) of Guinea-Bissau dispersed a public meeting organized in Bissau by the Democratic Front (FD, opposition), it was learned today from reliable sources. According to the same sources, several security men suddenly invaded the districts of Cuntum and Clele, where the FD was expected to hold its meeting to explain to the people why the Supreme Court did not legalize it.

After this incident, the chairman of the FD, Aristides Menezes, accused the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC, former sole party) of President Joao Bernardo Vieira of violating the country's Constitution and impeding the running of political parties.

"We just wanted to explain to our activists the reasons why the FD's file was withheld by the Supreme Court," he said.

The Supreme Court announced last week the suspension of the legalization process of the FD with the argument that there were irregularities in the file without, however, mentioning them.

General Vieira, Guinea-Bissau head of state, had asked the country's administration to make things easy for opposition political parties in connection with activities and formalities for their official legalization.

Liberia

Sawyer Suspends Joint Security Commission

AB1708130591 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] As directed by the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of Liberia [AFL] and president of the interim government of national unity, President Amos Sawyer says the activities of the Joint Security Commission are hereby suspended and the secretariat is hereby dissolved effective immediately.

A Defense Ministry release quoting Executive Order No. 1 says: The functions of the dissolved commission shall be taken over by existing individual security agencies. Meanwhile, the staff of the Joint Security Commission are to report to the Ministry of National Defense for reassignment, the press release concluded.

Meanwhile, the interim government of national unity, through the Ministry of National Defense, says the Armed Forces of Liberia will not be dissolved nor left in a suspended balance as we seek a political accommodation. The interim government further says it has no

intention of abandoning its constitutional obligation as relates to the Armed Forces of Liberia.

A Defense Ministry release, however, says the interim government shall review the status of personnel recruited into the AFL during the peak of the civil conflict with the objective of streamlining its present structure. Redeployment and reassignment will be utilized as much as practicable and due consideration will also be given to creating geographic diversity and enabling an atmosphere of integrity and professional competition.

The release further says whatever the exercise undertaken, no present AFL personnel shall be required to vacate military installations and facilities until a political settlement is concluded and the roads are opened.

Replacing ECOMOG With UN Force Rejected

AB1708100091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] The proposal being advanced by some people associated with the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] in the subregion that ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] be replaced by a United Nations force is unexpected because it is inconsistent with the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace plan. In an exclusive interview with the LIBERIAN NEWS AGENCY, LINA, on Thursday [15 August], the assistant minister for Afro-Asian affairs at the Foreign Ministry, Moevi Perry, said unless the proposal is approved or supported by the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee, in particular those countries that constitute ECOMOG, the Interim Government of National Unity will remain opposed to it. Mr. Perry said the government would consider unacceptable any suggestion at this time by those who have not been involved in the process of bringing to an end the carnage in Liberia and who may have even facilitated in one way or the other, the civil crisis which at this time attempt to dictate the trend and conditions of the settlement. In this regard, he said, we are constrained to ask where these persons or countries were when Liberians were slaughtering each other and when our people were dying of starvation?

The interim government is not prepared to and will never accept any settlement which seems to suggest that those of our subregional neighbors who came to help us constitute an occupation force or a part of the problem as may be implied in this proposal of ECOMOG replacement being tossed around, Mr. Perry added.

Liberians, he said, remain ever grateful to our brothers of those West African countries who have paid for peace in Liberia with their blood. We believe that it will be the highest point of ingratitude to, at this point, give the impression that the sacrifices of these African brothers and sisters of ECOMOG are in vain. The Foreign Ministry official pointed out that the interim government

release is committed to a solution within the ECOWAS peace plan. Thus, far from removing ECOMOG, there is the need to expand ECOMOG so as to keep the peace throughout the entire country, for we are committed to an ECOWAS solution that will ensure that there was a general disarmament of all warring parties as a basis for free and fair elections under international supervision.

Mr. Perry said: We are also calling on those countries who want to remove ECOMOG to instead commit themselves to providing things that will be acceptable to Mr. Taylor in the disarmament process. He further said that instead of lobbying for the United Nations for a non-subregional force, those countries and individuals should contribute financial and material resources to sustain our expanded ECOWAS force. The interim government, he continued, seeks a comprehensive and sub-regional initiative on bringing about peace in Liberia, because we are mindful of the security interests of our neighbors, in particular Sierra Leone and Guinea, which are at stake. Mr. Perry went on to say that any solution to the Liberia problem should seek to bring peace to and enhance the security of the Mano River subregion. In any case, he concluded: We know that Liberians themselves will not countenance the pulling out of ECOMOG from the country and will therefore reserve the right to invoke the mutual defense agreement [words indistinct].

Meanwhile, Mr. Perry has been commenting on President Houphouet-Boigny's comparison of the Liberian conflict to the situation in Angola. He says President Boigny's analogy is not correct. In an interview with the LIBERIAN NEWS AGENCY, the assistant minister for Afro-Asian affairs at the foreign affairs, Mr. Moevi Perry said, the analogy by President Boigny showed that he is not familiar with the details of the Liberian case as ECOMOG is not an armed force of the Interim Government of National Unity. And the interim government is not a warring party, nor has there been military confrontation between the interim government and the National Patriotic Front as has been the case between the NPLA and UNITA in Angola. He observed that it was absurd to perceive ECOMOG as an equivalent of the Cuban troops in Angola, adding, we totally reject that Boigny analogy. Minister Perry said there is the need to [word indistinct] wherever it exists because ECOMOG is a peacekeeping force that continues to maintain a neutral stand and secure a safe haven for hundreds of thousands of our people, who have either fled from behind the NPFL line or returned from neighboring countries to Liberia. In fact, the NPFL leader, Mr. Perry said, has made public his friendship with the ECOMOG field commander, General Rufus Kupolati, and the ECOMOG peace-keeping force itself, he added. He pointed out that only last week, Gen. Kupolati was in Gbarnga at the invitation of Mr. Taylor to review plans for the encampment of NPFL troops.

Italian Fishing Vessel Detained for Illegal Entry

*AB1608115591 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 15 Aug 91*

[Text] An Italian fishing vessel is being detained at the Free Port of Monrovia for allegedly entering Liberian waters illegally. The vessel and its 25 seamen were arrested last week by an ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] naval boat while fishing in Liberian waters. The government, through the Bureau of Maritime Affairs, has fined the operators and owners of the vessel \$12,000. The Italian fishing vessel is to remain at the Free Port of Monrovia until the fine is paid into government revenue.

Government Launches Popular Participation Policy

*AB1608121091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 15 Aug 91*

[Text] The Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia has launched a policy of popular participation in the Liberian peace process. Announcing the new policy yesterday in Monrovia, the president of the interim government, Dr. Amos Sawyer, said the exercise is intended to intensify the search for peace and national reunification by encouraging social movement of the people at the grass-roots level throughout Liberia.

The interim president has called on members of the transport union, the marketers' association, the teachers' association to reach out in a systematic way to their brothers, colleagues, and compatriots in territory controlled by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia. Dr. Sawyer described as significant this social movement (?completely) across factional lines, in that it encourages the direct involvement of the citizenry in the peace process based on modalities already worked out and agreed upon by all sides.

It can be recalled that at the Abuja summit of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] as well as at Yamoussoukro, a strategy was formulated, calling for the holding of free and fair elections within six to nine months. With the formulation of such strategy, the interim government is giving the intensification of current peace efforts its priority attention by encouraging social movement at the grass-roots level.

In pursuance of this policy of popular mass interaction, the president of the interim government has cited the officers and members of the board of the Liberian Transport Workers Union and those of the Liberia Marketers' Association to a meeting today to discuss the issues. Further meetings are also planned with other social and ethnic groups of the Liberian society.

NPFL Abolishes Customs Duties at Entry Points

*AB1908095591 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English
1900 GMT 17 Aug 91*

[Text] The National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly government has directed that, effective immediately, the payment of customs duties at all ports and points of entry within the territorial confines of the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] is hereby abolished until otherwise ordered. A release from the Executive Mansion said President Charles Gankay Taylor explained that the abolishing of such duties will create a better relationship between the consuming populace and the business community as government endeavors to stabilize the economy.

Meanwhile, presidential special task force Commander (Edwin Hogger), who signed the memorandum, has requested the minister of finance and economic planning, Mr. (Eron King), to ensure that the president's directive is carried out and [words indistinct] communicated to those concerned.

Nigeria

Government Suspends Participation in ICO

*AB1808165491 Paris AFP in English 1633 GMT
18 Aug 91*

[Text] Lagos, Aug 18 (AFP) - Nigeria, a secular state, has suspended its participation in the activities of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) [ICO]. President Ibrahim Babangida was reported here Sunday [18 August] as saying.

General Babangida recognised in an interview for the independent CHAMPION newspaper that Nigeria's officially registered membership of the OIC since 1986 had sparked considerable "controversy" within the country.

Christians, who account for many inhabitants of Africa's most populous nation, have complained that full OIC membership is part of a process of gradual "Islamisation" of the country, where Islam is strong in the north.

"We have never been represented in any way in the activities of the conference since the problem started," Babangida said.

Until the publication of the interview on Sunday, Nigerians had not been officially informed that their country was a full member of the OIC, observers said, though informed sources have said it upgraded its observer status in 1986.

Nigeria's military government established a religious advisory council, made up of Christians and Moslems, which wrote a report on the wisdom or otherwise of the decision to join the OIC.

The report of the council has not been made public.

Vice President on Commitment to Civilian Rule

*AB1608210091 Paris AFP in English 1611 GMT
16 Aug 91*

[Text] Lagos, Aug 16 (AFP) - The decision of President Ibrahim Babangida's military government to hand over power to civilians in October 1992, is "irrevocable," Vice President Augustus Aikhomu said here Friday [16 August].

"Next year is as realistic as ever...it (hand-over) is an irrevocable commitment" of the military regime, he told journalists in reaction to remarks that some Nigerians were skeptical the government would hand over as promised.

Such skeptics were "mischievous" because "there is nothing to suggest that we are not going to hand over or that we would apply a reverse gear on the issue," he said.

The government, which seized power in a bloodless military coup six years ago, "has done very in the last six years" [as received] having been able to implement successfully its political and economic programmes, Aikhomu added.

Because the government had been "prudent" in borrowing money from abroad, rescheduling and servicing its debts, foreign creditors "are happy with our programmes," he said, adding that payment of these debts would not be a burden on the incoming civilian administration.

On the issue of the ill-treatment or deportation of Nigerians abroad, especially in Britain, the United States and Bulgaria, he said some of those citizens affected were putting the country in a difficult situation by their involvement in drug trafficking, fraud, and other crimes.

But "genuine cases of harassment of innocent people would be investigated," and if found unjust, the principle of reciprocity would be applied to citizens of those countries who unjustly subject Nigerians to harassment, Aikhomu added.

Cases of embarrassment of Nigerian citizens have been raised with the U.S. Government, and the State Department has apologised to Nigeria on a number of occasions, he said. The issue may be raised again when U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle visits the West African nation from September 9 to 12, his Nigerian counterpart added.

Although he described the ill-treatment of Nigerians abroad as "unfortunate," he said "most of the (affected) Nigerians are receiving what they deserve."

BBC on Financial 'Swindle' Involving CBI

*AB1708134491 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] British businessmen, in the shape of the influential Confederation of British Industries, CBI, are up in arms over a big swindle originating in Nigeria. Some dubious letters allegedly signed by officials of Nigeria's Aviation Ministry have been sent to a large number of British businesses and individuals asking for banks and personal details so that millions of pounds can be transferred abroad. In return, the recipients of the letters are promised huge sums of money in rewards and expenses. Instead, what happens is that money disappears from the recipients' own bank accounts. The CBI wants action and there are claims that Nigerian government officials are, in fact, involved in the scam which amazingly, perhaps, has duped a lot of people already, all very embarrassing for the Nigerian authorities. Barnabe Philips asked the high commissioner in London, George Dove-Edwin, if there was any truth in the allegation that government officials were involved in the swindle:

[Begin recording] [Dove-Edwin] Not at all! This is the old trick of fraudsters to give some credibility. Of course, they do say that these sums are about to be paid by these agencies whom you mentioned, but quite often there are no transactions at all that would bear any resemblance to what they claim.

[Philips] If the Nigerian Government is not implicated as you are saying, are you doing anything to help the British authorities—the police—to track down those involved in this fraud?

[Dove-Edwin] Oh yes! I mean a number of arrests has been made. There has been one conviction to my set of knowledge in this country and we at this high commission, for example, cooperated fully with the British authorities to secure that conviction.

[Philips] Do you think this is a scandal which is potentially deeply embarrassing to Nigeria's international reputation?

[Dove-Edwin] I think when you look at it, it is so improbable in terms of the presentation, in terms of the language, and the sheer monotony of everyone of them turning up alike that it is a bit of a joke and I think to most of the recipients here, they regard it as a joke and consigned the letters to the waste paper basket. What bothers me is that there should be a number of people in this country, but not just in this country. I dare say in other parts of Europe, North America, and elsewhere—who take these things sufficiently seriously. I do not think there is any excuse for that. If you have done no business for a particular undertaking in Nigeria whose name is mentioned, and certainly nothing to be [word indistinct] of. Ten million, 15, 40 million dollars and you

are told for doing absolutely no work whatever. You will get 30 percent of that. You ought to know that you are in the hands of fraudsters. And if you take one step, you are implicating yourself too in the fraud. I would like to see them jailed on both sides, if you ask me. [end recording]

Chadian Envoy Visits, Delivers Deby Message

*AB1608154591 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 2100 GMT 15 Aug 91*

[Text] A Chadian envoy today visited Dodan Barracks to deliver a special message from the Chadian leader, Colonel Idriss Deby, on that country's transition program. The delegation was received by the vice president, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu. The leader of the delegation, who is also a secretary general in that country's Presidency, Mr. Amos Roulengar, stated that Chad was using the Nigerian experience as a guide in her transition program. He called for Nigeria's support in making the transition process a success.

Responding, the Vice President Admiral Aikhomu said that Nigeria would support Chad's transition program. Admiral Aikhomu also said that the clamor for democracy has become a universal trend and should be seen so, particularly in Africa.

Governorship, State Assembly Primaries Postponed

*AB1708091991 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 0600 GMT 17 Aug 91*

[Text] The National Electoral Commission, NEC, has shifted the dates for the conduct of the primaries for the governorship and state assembly elections of the two political parties. The exercise will now take place from the 24th of this month to the 7th of next month. The chairman of the commission, Professor Humphrey Nwosu, announced this in Lagos yesterday after a meeting with the national chairmen of the two parties. He said that the deadline for the submission of the membership lists of the two parties to the commission has also been shifted from the 20th to the 30th of this month.

Prof. Nwosu noted that the primaries were postponed to enable the parties to adequately prepare and submit to NEC the authenticated lists of their members throughout the country. He warned that any ward which failed to submit its membership list would not be allowed to hold its primary on that day. The chairman stressed that the lists should be made available to NEC officials who would observe the primaries in all the wards. Mr. Nwosu said that the commission had already received the list of aspirants contesting in the 7 September primaries.

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